DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 393 847 SP 036 622

AUTHOR	Herbert, Joanne M., Ed.; McNergney, Robert F., Ed.
TITLE	The Case of Columbus, New Mexico: Educational Life on the Border. Multicultural Videocase Series.
INSTITUTION	American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, Washington, D.C.; ERIC Clearinghouse on Teaching and Teacher Education, Washington, DC.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-89333-140-6
PUB DATE	96
CONTRACT	RR93002015
NOTE	63p.; For a related document, see SP 036 623. Videotape not available from EDRS.
AVAILABLE FROM	AACTE Publications, One Dupont Circle, Suite 610, Washington, DC 20036-1186 (Each videotape with one guide $75, both videotapes and guides $120; extra guides $10 each; add $5 handling and shipping).
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom Use - Teaching Guides (For Teacher) (052) -- Audiovisual/Non-Print Materials (100) -- Viewpoints (Opinion/Position Papers, Essays, etc.) (120)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Bilingual Education; *Case Studies; Elementary Education; Higher Education; *Instructional Improvement; Instructional Materials; *Multicultural Education; *Preservice Teacher Education; Teacher Educators; Videotape Cassettes
IDENTIFIERS	*Deming School District NM; Mexico; New Mexico

ABSTRACT

This guide accompanies one of a pair of videocases depicting educational life in Columbus, New Mexico. The videocase includes 23 minutes of unstaged but edited videotape footage of teaching and learning in and around an elementary school. The first section of the guide, "Teaching Note" (Linda Warner), contains a transcript of the videotape and questions designed to help instructors engage people in case-based discussions. In the teaching note section, the videotape is divided into five segments: (1) the principal of Columbus School, Dennis Armijo, provides background on the district's practice of educating students from Mexico; (2) Lynda Leyba, a second-grade teacher, introduces a set of vocabulary words written in Spanish and English to her students; (3) Mario Vasquez, the bilingual resource teacher, conducts a lesson on chilies and describes his educational goals for students; (4) Leyba and members of the resource team talk about similarities and differences among cultural groups represented in Columbus School; and (5) the resource team discusses some of the challenges students from Columbus experience when they go to junior high school in Deming, New Mexico. Finally, one resource staff member describes changes in curriculum since she was a student at Columbus; another talks about efforts to involve parents in school activities. The second section, which comprises about three quarters of the guide, presents three critical perspectives on the video written by Ursula Casanova, Deidre Dancer McMann, and Martin Haberman. Each of these essays relates its author's life and professional experiences, the educational events in the video, and the broader concept of multicultural education. (LL)

ED 393 847

THE CASE OF COLUMBUS, NEW MEXICO: Educational Life on the Border

Edited by
Joanne M. Herbert
&
Robert F. McNergney

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This publication was prepared with funding from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education, under contract number RR93002015. The opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of OERI or the Department.

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One Dupont Circle, Suite 610
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Single copy for AACTE members/nonmembers: $10
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Printed in the United States of America

International Standard Book Number 0-89333-140-6

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are grateful for the valuable help we received on this project. We thank the people who contributed time, ideas, expertise, and financial support.

Students, parents, teachers, administrators, and school board members of Deming, New Mexico, Public Schools allowed us to work in their schools and welcomed us into their homes. We doubt that any representation of their lives, including ours, could fully communicate their sense of community or the depth of their generosity.

Ernest Skinner, videographer, and Edward Damerel, sound technician, performed the technical work on the videotape. We value their professionalism.

David Imig and Elizabeth Foxwell of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education took a chance on this project. We gave them every opportunity to demonstrate their patience with us, and they rose to every occasion.

Without the support of The Hitachi Foundation and their director of programs, Laurie Regelbrugge, this work might not have been undertaken; it certainly would not have been completed. The Foundation, Laurie, and her colleagues have stretched our thinking and changed our professional practice.

We assume full responsibility for our work.

— Joanne M. Herbert
Robert F. McNergney

Introduction

If you are a stranger in Columbus, New Mexico, and you stop for gas, or to get lunch in one of the local cafes, don't be in too big of a hurry to get out of town. Ask, and someone will tell you where to find the museum. It will be close by, like everything else in this village of a few hundred souls located three miles north of the Mexico-U.S. border.

When you go to the museum, watch the old 35mm movie about Pancho Villa and General George "Blackjack" Pershing. Villa crossed the border here in 1916 and shot up the local hotel—and a few of its guests. Legend suggests the proprietor cheated him out of some money, and Villa took it as a personal affront. The movie's narrator contends the raid marked the only time in history that a "foreign power" invaded the United States. Obviously, the film and life itself were conceptualized in simpler times—times when soldiers galloped off under the banner of democracy to force foreigners to their knees, and terrorists did not fly in, plant plastic explosives in the bowels of the World Trade Center, and fly out again. Nonetheless, you cannot sit in the museum's dark little theater on those hard seats, watch the movie, step out into the light again, and perceive life in that part of the world in quite the same way as you did when you first drove into town.

In somewhat analogous fashion, that is what we hope will happen as you work through this videocase on educational life in Columbus Elementary School. We want you to imagine yourself in this place where children cross the international border from Mexico to attend public school in the United States each morning, and return home again each night. The Deming Public School District pays to educate these children. And many people on both sides of the border support the activity; some are even trying to establish the first international school district. We think you would be hard-pressed to pinpoint another place in the United States that poses more sharply defined issues about the nature of public education and the maintenance and diffusion of culture.

The videotape shows educational life as it is in this place, or at least as we found it when we were there.

Here, you will find two cultures separated distinctly by a border; but the ebb and flow of culture across the line blurs the social-psychological separation. You will see and hear "multicultural education" as it is defined through practice in this community. But you will have to decide how real, how influential, how efficacious the practice is. You will also find yourself wondering about the meaning of "culture" as defined in part by language—a factor of increasing importance in many of our nation's schools.

The videotape shows educational life as it is in this place, or at least as we found it when we were there. Did people alter their words and deeds because we pointed a camera in their direction? Sure, they probably wanted to put on their best face. At the same time, we have learned from years of videotaping in schools that the vast majority of people forget we are there after about 15 minutes; by the second day, they have forgotten our names and why we are there. What we end up with is footage of fairly natural, even ordinary life in and around schools.

This videocase is one of a pair; the other is "The Case of Deming, New Mexico: International Public Education." Deming, a village 30 miles north

of Columbus, is the location of the junior high, mid-high, and high schools. We have designed the two videocases to span the geography and to a certain extent the sociology of the district. We think of these cases as slices of life—not so good as being there, but useful devices for broadening and deepening one's view of education.

The Elements of a Videocase

These videocases are typically composed of three components: a videotape of unstaged teaching and learning in a multicultural setting, a teaching note for an instructor using the videotape, and a written set of critical perspectives on the video (Herbert & McNergney, 1995). This particular case conforms to the general model by including: (1) 23 minutes of unstaged, edited video footage of teaching and learning in and around an elementary school in Columbus, New Mexico; (2) a teaching note containing a transcript of the videotape and questions designed to help instructors engage people in case-based discussions about educational life in Columbus; and (3) a set of three critical perspectives on the video written by knowledgeable professionals—people who compel us to think seriously about the situation.

After a brief introduction, the videotape is divided into five segments. First, Dennis Armijo, principal of Columbus School, provides background on the district's practice of educating students from Mexico. Second, Lynda Leyba, a second-grade teacher, introduces a set of vocabulary words written in Spanish and English to her students. She also talks about her background, her knowledge of Spanish, her beliefs about multicultural education, and some of the problems she encounters in the classroom. Third, Mario Vasquez, the bilingual resource teacher, conducts a lesson on chiles and describes his educational goals for students. Fourth, Leyba and members of the resource team talk about similarities and differences among cultural groups represented in Columbus School. Fifth, the resource team discusses some of the challenges students from Columbus experience when they go to junior-high school in Deming, New Mexico. Finally, one resource staff member describes changes in curriculum since she was a student at Columbus school, and another talks about efforts to involve parents in school activities.

The teaching note contains many specific questions about the videotape. The questions are organized into five general categories that encourage people: (1) to perceive problems and opportunities for teaching as they present themselves on the video; (2) to recognize values that drive people's actions on the tape; (3) to call up personal, empirical, and/or theoretical knowledge relevant to teaching practice as it might occur in this situation or in a similar one; (4) to speculate on what actions might reasonably be taken in the situation; and (5) to forecast likely consequences of such actions. We think these five types of questions can be used to trigger people to reflect or to think professionally about educational practice.

The teaching note for Columbus Elementary was written by Linda Warner, director of teacher services at the Boston Children's Museum. As director, Warner organizes a variety of professional development programs for classroom teachers . Before assuming this position, Warner directed the museum's Multicultural Education Project for classroom teachers in grades kindergarten through eight. Warner has a bachelor's degree in sociology from Simmons College and a master's degree in education, with an emphasis in teaching English as a Foreign Language, from the University of Michigan. She taught for five years in Massachusetts's public elementary schools during the 1970s, a time when there was an influx of immigrants from Puerto Rico into the community. Warner also taught English as a foreign language in Taiwan, China, and Japan. After her return to the United States, she taught English as a Second Language for eight years in refugee resettlement and literacy programs, college writing programs, and adult education programs in Boston.

Three professional educators wrote critical perspectives. Each is, in her or his own right, eminently qualified to comment on the content of this videotape.

Ursula Casanova is an associate professor at Arizona State University. Her research has centered on policy issues related to education and culture and has been disseminated in such publications as *Schoolchildren At Risk* (Richardson, Casanova, Placier, & Guilfoyle, 1989), *Elementary School Secretaries: The Women in the Principal's*

Office (Casanova, 1991), and *Putting Research to Work in Your School* (Berliner & Casanova, 1993). Since 1990, Casanova and David Berliner have collaborated with the National Education Association on the publication of several books directed at bridging the gap between research and practice. Casanova also co-edited with Jay Blanchard *An Anthology of Modern Fiction on School Teaching* (in press). Before assuming her position at Arizona State University, Casanova was a classroom teacher and a principal.

Deidre Dancer McMann is a doctoral student in bilingual education with emphases in writing, literacy/biliteracy, and teacher education at the College of Education, University of New Mexico. For the past five years, McMann has also served as the writing resource teacher on the bilingual resource team at Adobe Acres Elementary School, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Prior to this time, McMann taught for six years in elementary and middle schools in Albuquerque. In summer 1991, she was a National Writing Project Fellow, and in 1992, McMann was co-director of the year-long Rio Grande Writing Project.

Martin Haberman, a distinguished professor of curriculum and instruction in the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, has experience as a classroom teacher in grades 2 , 4, and 6 and as a dean of urban outreach. During his tenure at the university, Haberman has developed several teacher education programs. In recent years he has focused in particular on the creation of alternative certification programs for attracting minorities into teaching and for resolving the continuing shortage of teachers for schools in poverty areas. His interview for selecting successful urban teachers is used in cities throughout the country. In addition, Haberman has written seven books, 45 chapters, and 145 articles, his most recent book being *Star Teachers of Children in Poverty*, (West Lafayette, Ind: Kappa Delta Pi). Haberman is a former editor of the *Journal of Teacher Education*.

Some Instructional Options

We have designed this videocase to be used in different ways. Participants' needs, pressures of time, and instructors' personal styles make instructional flexibility desirable. We have used all the options below and do not necessarily prefer one over another. The audience and instructional objectives should dictate instructional strategy.

Teach One or Two Segments in a Session

The most common strategy for teaching a videocase in the context of a typical college or university course is to break it into segments and to teach it over two class sessions. The segments are denoted by text slides interspersed among the video footage. (A numeral in the lower right corner of the screen corresponds to the order in which text slides and their accompanying footage appear.) On this videotape, there is a brief introduction followed by five slides:

(1) "Dennis Armijo, principal "—Armijo describes the community of teachers and learners at Columbus Elementary School. He also talks about goals of the school's bilingual program, parents' expectations, and the home-school connection.

(2) "Lynda Leyba, second grade teacher "—Leyba calls the roll and then introduces a list of vocabulary words in both English and Spanish. She asks students to read the words chorally and to use them in sentences. Leyba also explains why she has organized the lesson in this fashion, and she talks about some of the challenges she faces as she plans for instruction.

(3) "Mario Vasquez, bilingual resource teacher"—Vasquez talks about his background and about his job at Columbus School. He also teaches a lesson on chiles to Leyba's students. As he does so, a voice-over reveals some of Vasquez's beliefs about teaching.

(4) "Resource Team"—Leyba, Vasquez, and other staff members discuss similarities and differences in the ways parents think about work, education, and children's behavior. One staff member also talks about the importance of being able to speak a student's first language.

(5) "Moving Up and Moving On"—Staff members discuss some of the challenges Columbus students

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face when they go to junior high school in Deming, New Mexico—a community about 30 miles from Columbus.

(6) "Cinco de Mayo"—One staff member who, as a child, crossed the border to attend Columbus School, describes how the curriculum has changed over time. She notes in particular that she never studied Mexican history or culture and thus feels "cheated." Another staff member talks about the annual Cinco de Mayo festival and its importance to students and their families.

Time required for instruction. We have taught this particular case numerous times in two sessions, with each session lasting approximately 1 hour. The time required, however, depends greatly on the maturity and experience of the class members and on their willingness to share their thoughts. Rich discussion emanates from good questions and is sustained in an environment where people feel safe to speak their minds. Generally we find experienced educators have more to say than do beginners.

Group size. We have taught groups varying in size from 6 to 80. A group needs to be large enough to generate a discussion among members but not so large that people fail to have a chance to speak if they wish to do so. Usually we use a combination of whole-group and small-group discussions. We establish small groups of four to six people, assign a recorder to each group, and have the small groups report back to the whole group at various points in the session.

Instructional procedures. Although the order of the steps below might vary on occasion, as we note, each represents an important part of a case-based lesson.

(1) Post five large sheets of newsprint around the classroom, each labeled with one of the key words: FACTS/ISSUES, PERSPECTIVES, KNOWLEDGE, ACTIONS, CONSEQUENCES. (It is a good idea to have a couple of extra sheets ready in case you need the extra writing space.)

(2) Provide an overview of the case and explain to students that after they view a portion of the video, they will analyze what they have seen and heard by responding to some questions. Review the meanings of the key words that will guide the discussion.

(3) Show the introductory portion of the videotape and the first segment ("Dennis Armijo, principal").

(4) Begin discussion of the first segment by asking students to describe what they saw occurring (FACTS/ISSUES). Ask students to address remaining questions represented by key words. Record students comments on the sheets or assign a recorder to do so. (If you are concerned about having too little time, to keep discussion moving, do not record students' full oral responses; merely use key words to guide discussion.)

(5) Show a second segment. Ask students to address each of the five questions. Record responses on newsprint. If using small groups, appoint a recorder for each group to take notes on people's responses and to present the group's ideas to the entire class using a "nominal group" technique. Using this technique, the instructor takes only one idea from a group at a time and then moves to the next group for another idea. For instance, the instructor might say: "Would group one please identify the single most important issue in the segment of video you just viewed? Remember, give me only one issue, and then we will move to group two to identify another issue." The instructor goes from group to group in this fashion until the ideas have been exhausted.

Pull some direct quotations from the critical perspectives. We often make overhead transparencies of particular pages and highlight selected lines to emphasize with the class. The entire perspective can be assigned as homework later.

(6) Closure. Ask students to consider: (a) possible explanations for similarities and differences in their thoughts about the videotape, and (b) reasons for examining a particular alternative way of thinking about teaching and learning in this situation. Have individual students write about their thoughts or encourage them to cooperate on a small-group reaction paper.

Teach the Whole Case in One Session

This strategy is designed to teach the whole videocase from beginning to end.

Time required for instruction. We have taught this whole videocase in slightly more than two hours, excluding time for reading expert perspectives. With three hours, there is time to proceed with a whole-group/small-group approach, discuss events and reflections, and even consider selected comments from the expert perspectives. Once again, the time required depends on the experience of the students—more mature groups often bring a wealth of practical knowledge to discussions. We strongly encourage people to experiment—show the events, frame discussion questions, take short breaks between such discussions, assign outside reading and writing relevant to a case, return the next day and reflect on the previous discussions and readings.

Group size. We have held case-based sessions with as few as six people and with as many as 80. When students are organized so they have ample opportunity to participate in small and/or whole groups, so they focus on the five key ideas, and so momentum in discussion is maintained, a session will be successful.

Instructional procedures. (1) Post five large sheets of newsprint around the classroom, each labeled with one of the key words: FACTS/ ISSUES, PERSPECTIVES, KNOWLEDGE, ACTIONS, CONSEQUENCES. Explain to students, as in Option #1, that after they view a portion of the videotape, they will think about what they have seen and heard by responding to five questions. Review the meanings of key words. (2) Show the introduction and two segments. Ask students to address each of the five questions. To save time, do not record students' responses. (3) Show the last two segments; again address the five questions, this time recording responses on newsprint.

Note that instructor questions need not proceed in linear fashion. For example, the instructor may deal with questions 1 and 2, move to question 4, then come back to question 3, and jump to question 5. As students work their way through the case and learn more about the situation, the instructor may need to focus less on the first two questions (FACTS/ISSUES, PERSPECTIVES) and more on the last three (KNOWLEDGE, alternatives for ACTION, CONSEQUENCES). (4) Introduce students to the concept of a "Professional Perspective." Do so by describing it as one professionally defensible point of view on the videotape. Provide one or more perspectives and draw particular attention to the identities of the writers. Ask what explicit and implicit aspects of the writers' backgrounds may be especially important to understand when interpreting their remarks. Because of the time required to read one or more perspectives students will need to examine them outside of class time.

When assigning one or more critical perspectives you might choose the one most at odds with your own point of view. If you do so, you can reinforce the idea that in education, as in other professions, there are often multiple acceptable points of view. Or you might select any two perspectives and have students report on the similarities and differences between them with respect to events viewed and discussed during class. Have students file the perspectives for future reference. (5) Invoke closure in the session. Ask students to consider: (a) possible reasons for similarities and differences in their thoughts about events depicted on the videotape, and (b) the strengths and limitations of the professional perspectives.

View the Videotape as a Documentary

Although the videotape is designed to be used to encourage the development of people's reflective powers through active consideration of the five types of questions as the situation unfolds, the instructor might run it from beginning to end as a documentary.

Time required for instruction. Showing this videotape and holding a brief discussion about its contents typically takes us about 1 hour—5 minutes to set stage for viewing by providing a brief overview, 30 minutes to view the video, and about 20 minutes or slightly more for discussion.

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Group size. Because there is less emphasis on in-class analysis and discussion under this option, group size is relatively unimportant, governed largely by students' abilities to see and hear the videotape.

Instructional procedures. The videotape can be viewed from beginning to end with no pauses for discussion much as one would view a documentary film. To maximize the value of such a viewing, the instructor should provide background information on the contents of the tape—that is, foreshadow what will be seen and heard. If the instructor wants to focus discussion later on particular issues or events, he or she should alert viewers to be attuned to particular points of interest.

For example, the instructor might focus viewers' attention on opportunities for teaching and learning in a bilingual class by alerting viewers to particular aspects of instruction in Leyba's classroom. What types of activities do Leyba and Vasquez plan for students? How do they use English and Spanish during instruction? What more might you want to know about their lessons? If you were a teacher in this classroom, would you use cooperative learning strategies? Why or why not? These and other questions might be used to encourage viewers to analyze what they see on the videotape.

When the videotape is viewed as a documentary, it can be useful to assign one or more of the critical perspectives to be read after class. The perspectives encourage people to think about what they have seen and heard in relation to someone else's view. It is best to follow up later by asking students to respond to some questions, either orally or in writing, about the perspectives in relation to their own position or via-a-vis one another.

Conclusion

Although we have designed this videocase to be used primarily with teachers, it can be used to stimulate conversations among other stakeholders in education. A colleague of ours, Rudy Ford, has used another videocase with administrators, parents, and students, as well as teachers. These groups willingly shared their thoughts about what they saw and heard—sometimes disagreeing on the finer points but more often than not agreeing on how to define problems and opportunities in schools. Involving others in discussions about school life seems worth both the time and effort if people want to build consensus for action in public education.

For example, the Columbus case might encourage people with different points of view to air their opinions about "multicultural education" and to listen to one another in the process. What evidence do parents accept that education is occurring, to say nothing of that education being multicultural? According to students and their parents, how many and which cultures must influence a program before education might reasonably be termed "multi" cultural? What activities other than festivals, cooperative work groups, and assigned readings do school administrators believe teachers should use to promote mutual appreciation of cultures? And so forth.

A discussion about multicultural education among diverse groups today might well turn to questions about the many conceptions of "political correctness," or PC. Do people view multicultural education as a form of PC—that is, as an attempt to apply political criteria for acceptable public expression? Or do they think that multicultural education goals and behaviors characterized as PC are honest and reasonable attempts to redress the casual stigmatization of minorities? Do people think that what is termed PC behavior is just plain good manners? This videocase will not resolve these complex problems, but, in the hands of a skilled discussion leader, it could be used to examine them carefully and fairly.

We do not present the Columbus videocase, and by inference the Deming school system, as a model to be emulated. Our goal is more modest. We hope people will think and talk with one another about this slice of life, and in doing so, learn something about the people and the schools in this place. Maybe students of the case will begin to see their own situations in a slightly different light—to think, talk, and behave in their own communities with a richer awareness of the people around them.

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Teaching Note

by Linda Warner
(The Children's Museum, Boston, Massachusetts)

Case Summary

This case portrays Columbus Elementary School in Columbus, New Mexico. A bilingual school for children in grades kindergarten through five, Columbus Elementary is located 3 miles from the border between the United States and Mexico. About half of the children who attend the school actually live in Mexico. The case begins with a description of the Columbus community and an interview with the principal of Columbus Elementary School. Next, there are scenes from lessons taught by Lynda Leyba, a second-grade teacher, and by Mario Vasquez, a bilingual resource teacher. During each of these events, the teachers comment (reflect) on their lessons. The two classroom episodes are followed by a discussion among Lynda Leyba and resource team members and scenes from the school-wide celebration of Cinco de Mayo (May 5).

Edited Transcript of Introductory Comments (1 min. 30 sec.)

Narrator: Columbus, New Mexico, is an agricultural community near the international boundary separating Mexico and the United States. It is a quiet town where traditional views of community and territory are being challenged.

Just three miles from the border is Columbus Elementary School, a bilingual school for kindergarten through fifth-grade students. Of the some 340 students enrolled at Columbus Elementary, approximately 97 percent are on free or reduced-price lunches. The school is unique because about 49 percent of the students live in Mexico. They attend Columbus at U.S. taxpayers' expense.

In the early grades, basic skills are taught in Spanish. At the third-grade level, students begin to make the transition to English.

As you watch this videotape, you will be encouraged by your instructor to think about educational life in this community from multiple points of view.

Discussion Questions

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(1) The narrator states that "traditional views of community are being challenged" in Columbus, New Mexico. What might be the crux of the challenge? Is tax money the critical issue, or is it something else (i.e., the fact that this is a bilingual school)?

(2) What are some relevant perspectives?

- Whose tradition might the narrator be considering when he states that "traditional views are being challenged?"
- By whom might traditional views be challenged?
- Who benefits from the arrangement that allows children who reside in Mexico to go to school in Columbus? Might anyone be hurt by the arrangement?

(3) What do you know about educational arrangements in other border towns in the United States? How do they compare to those in Columbus?

(4) What, if anything, do you know about schools in Palomas, Mexico—the neighboring town?

(5) What else might you want to know about this situation? (e.g., Do the towns of Columbus and Palomas, located on either side of the border, work together? If so, how do they collaborate? If not, why not?)

Dennis Armijo, principal (4 minutes)

In this segment, the principal describes the community of teachers and learners at Columbus Elementary School. He also talks about goals of the school's bilingual program, parents' expectations, and the home-school connection.

Edited Transcript

Armijo: Most of the people who live in Columbus have relatives in Palomas. At one point or another, they were all Mexican residents, and they came over, and they have established a life here. They still have ties to Mexico, and a lot of the uncles and aunts and grandfathers and those people still live in Palomas. So there is a unique situation where they do have this kind of family togetherness. They just go back and forth all of the time.

Most of the children coming over from Mexico are American citizens who were born in the United States. The parents may not be able to cross the border because of illegal status, but the children are U.S. citizens. They have been born in U.S. hospitals.

Parental contact is not as good as we would like it to be. Occasionally we run into problems. Most of the parents don't have telephones, and they leave an emergency number we can call. It could be the phone number for a neighbor three blocks away or a relative that is on the other side of Palomas, so the parents don't always get to the phone right away. When making contact with the home, we either go into Mexico and talk to the parents, or we write them a letter so that they can cross the border to come to school. But cooperation from the parents is great. They will do anything to help out the school.

Our teachers are mostly English speakers; they are not Spanish speakers. The only reason that parents from across the border would want to send their kids over here is for them to learn English, period.

There is some misunderstanding, because the parents do not understand what a bilingual program is. A lot of them come in and say, "I don't want to put my children in a bilingual program." When we ask them why, they say, "Well, the reason is because I want them to speak English. They already know Spanish."

Normally, a true bilingual program will take children who are monolingual speakers of any language and combine them. Here, for example, if you have a monolingual English speaker and a monolingual Spanish speaker, and they are in a true bilingual program, you hope that the Spanish speaker will learn English and the English speaker will learn Spanish. And if they live here for the rest of their lives they will be able to communicate with anybody. So when students come over the border, they need to learn the skills or the way of life, the American way of life, the American dream, if you will, of an education. I'm almost sure that most of those kids are going to come to the United States and live here, so they need to have this education. If they don't, then I don't know what would happen.

Discussion Questions

(1) What are some important issues to consider?

- The border station is a visual reminder of the important international problem of immigration and migration. What is the "unique situation" in Columbus, as Armijo explains it?
- Given Armijo's description of a "true bilingual program," what questions might you raise about the language program at Columbus Elementary School?
- Armijo says his teachers are not Spanish speakers. Does he mean they are monolingual English speakers?

(2) What are some relevant perspectives?

- From teachers' points of view, what might be the advantages and disadvantages of having children cross the border each day to attend school?
- How might parents on either side of the border think about this issue? What about students? Other people in the community?

(3) What more might you want to know about this situation?

- Is Columbus Elementary School able to offer a "true" (two-way) bilingual program, as Armijo defines it?

- How long has the bilingual program been in existence?

- What kind of training for cultural and language teaching do staff members at Columbus Elementary receive?

Lynda Leyba, second-grade teacher (5 minutes, 10 seconds)

In this segment, students enter the classroom on a Monday morning. Leyba takes attendance and then introduces vocabulary words for the week. Included in the transcript below are Lynda Leyba's introductory comments, her dialogue with students during the vocabulary lesson, and her reflections on the lesson.

Edited Transcript

Leyba: This is my third year teaching at Columbus Elementary. My husband Gary and I live in Deming. He is a deputy sheriff, and he works for Luna County. He has been there about four years.

I like to garden. My husband and I planted one this year. It is the first one we have had.

I grew up on a ranch nearby in Las Vegas, New Mexico. I was in 4-H and FFA for about nine years. I showed steers and "rodeod." I was rodeo queen, and I won a lot of grand champions and reserve champions. I also have a state farmer degree from FFA.

They wanted me to come to Columbus Elementary because I speak Spanish and because almost 95 percent of the students are Spanish speakers. They thought that I would be able to communicate with the students.

(Beginning the school day)
Leyba: Denise? Denise didn't come?
Students: No.
Leyba: Oh, she's doing the First Holy Communion? Okay. Go ahead and put your pencils down so we can talk about our spelling words.

Leyba's Reflections: On Mondays as an introduction for the spelling vocabulary, we have 10 words written on the board. They are written in both English and Spanish. The intent is for students to learn the English. The Spanish words help them to understand what the English words mean.

Leyba and students read chorally: Star, party . . .
Leyba: The words that we are going to have this week are not very hard words. Okay? Now let's read them in English and in Spanish. Together.

Leyba and students: Far, lejos, yard, patio, art, arte . . .

Leyba's Reflections: The lack of books is a problem, because we are supposed to be teaching in Spanish for part of the day. But the only thing that we have in Spanish are the readers. All the other materials are in English, so that is a problem.

All of the teachers here at Columbus in grades K through 3 have an instructional assistant to help out with different things. My aide this year is really wonderful. She helps out a great deal. She teaches the Spanish reading to the students, because I am not as fluent. I can speak the language and I can understand it, but I don't know how to actually teach it.

Leyba: Okay, now number one, Rolando read it for us in English and in Spanish.
Rolando: Far, lejos.
Leyba: Yard. Adrian, what does yard mean?
Leyba: Luis, give me a sentence using the word far.
Luis: I am far of my house?
Leyba: Mmm hmm. I am far away from my house. Good. Party Party, Adrian? Lusanna, put those away.
Adrian: We have a party at Cinco de Mayo?
Leyba: We have a party for Cinco de Mayo. Good. You guys are giving me good sentences. Now let's try a sentence in Spanish.

Leyba's Reflections: Multicultural education here means that most of the students

are from a different culture. We have a few Anglos, but most of them are Mexicans or Hispanics, and when you are teaching multicultural education, you want to make sure that the students understand that their culture is just as important as the dominant culture.

Leyba: Let's try a sentence using the same words, but this time in Spanish. Oscar, vamos a decir oraciones en español.
Leyba: Fiesta. Luis?
Luis: El Cinco de Mayo hiciéramos la fiesta.
Leyba: Are the people that are absent today at a fiesta?
Students: No. Yes.
Leyba: No? Yes they are, because they are making their First Holy Communion. It is a fiesta. It is a different kind of fiesta from the Cinco de Mayo, but it is a fiesta also. Okay? Those sentences were good in both English and Spanish. Let's look at them one more time and read them in English and in Spanish. I need everybody looking and reading. I want to hear everybody saying them.

Leyba's Reflections: As far as the activity with Spanish sentences, that is just giving them an opportunity to do something well. They already know the Spanish words, so they are able to do a good job making the sentences. That is something that makes them feel good and helps their self-esteem.

Discussion Questions

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(1) What is Lynda Leyba's background? Her interests? What was one of the reasons she was selected to teach at Columbus School?

(2) What are Leyba's beliefs regarding multicultural education?

(3) How does Lynda Leyba use English and Spanish in the classroom lesson you see? What is her rationale for doing so?

(4) During the vocabulary lesson, Leyba switches back and forth between English and Spanish. Do you think this is confusing to students? Why/Why not?

(5) What do you know about effective ways to involve students actively in vocabulary lessons?

(6) Is it possible to teach well without textbooks? If so, when? If not, why not?

(7) In this segment, Leyba notes that a few students are absent because of their First Holy Communion. Can you think of instances when students' religious beliefs have clashed with school practices? How have these differences been resolved?

(8) What more might you want to know about this situation?

- Pedagogically speaking, what is the context for the English vocabulary Leyba is teaching? Is the lesson part of a larger reading unit?
- Are students confused by any of the vocabulary words? Do students ever discuss the words and their meanings? (In the lesson, a word in English is defined by one word in Spanish, such as "hard/duro", but the meaning of "hard" could also be "difficult." In another example, "yard/patio," "yard" could also be 36 inches.)
- Does Lynda Leyba enjoy teaching? Does she let students in on her passions and interests?

(9) What might you do if you were in this situation?

- Would you select words from one of the content areas, such as science or social studies, that students are studying?
- How could you draw on the home experiences of non-English speakers to help them develop vocabularies in English?
- If you were teaching this lesson, would you use cooperative learning strategies? Why/Why not?

(10) What might be the effects of your actions?

- Do you think the lesson might have been

more meaningful if students were focusing on words related to concepts being taught in other subjects?

- What are the pros and cons of trying to build on students' shared experiences?

- What kinds of learning opportunities would cooperative or small-group activities provide?

Mario Vasquez, bilingual resource teacher (4 minutes, 40 seconds)

In this segment, Mario Vasquez talks about his background and about his job at Columbus Elementary School. The viewer then sees Vasquez teaching a lesson in Lynda Leyba's classroom. Mario begins by talking about the chile pepper and its uses. Then he demonstrates how chile peppers can be tied together to make a *ristra*. Finally, Vasquez and the children construct a ristra for the classroom. At different points in the lesson, a voice-over reveals some of Mario's thoughts about the lesson.

Edited Transcript

Mario Vasquez: My name is Mario Vasquez, and I am from Hatch, New Mexico. That is about 80 miles from here. I drive from Hatch every day, early in the morning.

My parents are from Mexico. The way my dad got here was through the Bracero program. That was a farm workers' program back in the 1930s and 1940s. He came as a farm worker, with permission, of course. That is how we began our family.

I am what they call a bilingual resource teacher. I go into the classrooms, and I present different lessons all the way from making a chile ristra to teaching shapes. I do science projects, things in math, reading, or whatever the teacher needs me to work on.

(Vasquez presents a lesson on chiles.)

Vasquez: Los españoles le cambiaron el nombre a chile. El chile es muy bueno para la dieta. Tiene mucha vitamina A y C. Los usaban antes los indios para . . . en inglés se dice it is a natural digestive, es un digestivo natural. Bueno, ya más o menos les dije las cosas importantes del chile. Puede ser que el chile empieza verde y luego ya se cambia a rojo. First of all the chile starts green on the plant, and then it becomes red by the fall. Usually chile is available como en late July and August. And the chile is the state vegetable.

> **Vasquez's Reflections:** In my job as resource teacher, I think students ought to learn first their own culture. I think that is really important. They need to know who they are and where they come from and be proud of that.
>
> I think what happens in situations where all teaching is done in English, a lot of times they just teach the other cultures besides the students' culture. So, often students' culture is left out. A lot of it is the American way, the American way. For instance, teachers don't bring in things like the chile, as I did in my lesson today.

(Vasquez models the procedure for tying chiles together to make a *ristra*.)

Vasquez: The correct way is ristra . . . Yo diriá el nombre correcto es ristra de chile. You take three chiles, wrap them in a rubber band at least 3 or 4 times. Ya, muy bien. Ya hicieron uno. Put them together. Take your time; there is no hurry. We are going to make a ristra.

> **Vasquez's Reflections:** I think every child's culture should be preserved, because it can easily become lost. A child becomes Americanized, you could say. I know a lot of children who act "American." They forget where they came from. I think that goes for any culture, whether it be Japanese, Laotian, or Indian. Culture is just so important, their identity, who they are, where they come from, their language, their food, all of these things.

Vasquez: You are going to tie every other one so the wind won't shake your ristra all over the place. Van a marrar cada otro bonche de chile. No todos . . .

Vasquez's Reflections: We are friends. We are right here on the border. There is a closeness between Columbus, the Deming area, and Mexico. I think it is a great place to teach. The kids are really respectful. They are willing to learn, and the parents are really supportive. That is one thing you can say about the people in Palomas, Mexico; they are very supportive.

Discussion Questions

(1) What are some relevant facts?

- How does Mario Vasquez describe his instructional role at Columbus School?
- How do Vasquez's goals for students compare to those discussed by Armijo?

(2) How is Vasquez's ethnic/cultural background important to his teaching?

(3) During instruction, Lynda Leyba switches back and forth between English and Spanish, and Mario Vasquez uses concurrent translation. How do the two practices compare? What might be the disadvantages of each?

(4) What more might you want to know about this lesson?

- Do Mario and Lynda work together to plan Mario's lessons? Do they co-teach?
- How are Vasquez's lessons integrated with classroom instruction? Are his lessons "add-ons," or are they part of the larger curriculum of social studies, arts, language, science, etc.?
- How does Mario think about teaching? Does he prefer to use realia rather than a textbook?
- Is there a curriculum for multicultural education at Columbus School? If so, what are the desired outcomes of instruction for each grade level?

(5) What might you do if you were in Mario's position?

- How could you work collaboratively with teachers at Columbus School to improve classroom instruction (both your own and others)?
- What resources would you need? How might you acquire them?

(6) What might be the consequences of your actions?

- If you were a resource teacher, what might be the upside and the downside of team teaching with classroom teachers?
- What are the likely effects of asking/not asking the administrator for money to purchase supplies? What do you think about teachers using their own money to buy classroom materials?

Resource Team (4 minutes)

In this segment of the videotape, staff members discuss similarities and differences in the ways parents think about work, education, and children's behavior. One staff member also talks about the educational importance of being able to speak a student's first language.

Edited Transcript

Mario: I think for this area the two main cultures that we deal with are the people from Mexico and the Spanish people that live here in Columbus. It is a farming community. It is mainly those two cultures—the Spanish people and then the Anglo people who are ranchers. I think what makes the two groups alike is that in each culture both parents have to work. That is what we were talking about earlier.

Paula: It is not as accepted in Mexico as it is here. Still.

Interviewer: For both parents to work?

Paula: Right. I see the parents that come in, and when you ask what they do, they are really proud to put down housewife or homemaker. And there is nothing wrong with it. It is as if they are saying this is my status, and I like it. Here, however, you kind of shy away from this. You write that you are a homemaker, not a housewife.

Consuela: (Describes parent education program to Lynda Leyba.) Didn't you know that? Our parents are coming to visit the computer lab now for ESL at night now. I didn't think it was going to work, because some of the parents don't know how to read at all, and this requires some reading. But they don't even want to take a break.

Others: Uh huh . . . Parents love those computers.

Mario: They don't even take a break. I know that Consuela tells them, "Okay, time to take a break." She has to tell them a couple of times.

Consuela: In both cultures, education is seen as something that is a necessity for the future.

Ophelia: Education is a little bit different here. What you were talking about earlier . . .

Consuela: I think that Anglo parents' expectation of a student is to excel, excel, excel in anything they do. This is from day one.

Ophelia: The Mexican family, and I do not know if it is true any more, but their expectation is to just get enough education so they can go out there and work. Maybe it is changing a little bit. But in the United States, it is all college-bound. That is all you think . . . college, college.

Consuela: It is very evident too that the parents in Mexico take responsibility for the behavior or discipline part of the child's education. In the United States, a lot of parents say while students are in school, you teach them how to behave, you teach them what is right and what is wrong, all of that. In Mexico, I feel that is quite a bit different. Parents expect the child to come to school to learn subject matter. Discipline and behavior patterns are definitely the responsibility of the parent, but mostly of the mother.

Lynda: I want to add to what Consuela was saying about parents assuming responsibility for discipline. One of the first things my parents ask is, "Is my child learning English?" The other question they have is, "How well is my child behaving? Is my child behaving right?"

Consuela: Multicultural education takes advantage of a child's language. It is an asset to be able to speak a child's language, because the teacher can get so much more participation from the student if she can relate to the language. For instance, a child can come and tell the teacher, "Teacher, teacher, we killed a pig yesterday." Hubo una matanza. And an Anglo teacher will just say, "Great, the kid has meat in the freezer now." But a bicultural person can make a whole hour out of that comment and involve the whole class. Because slaughtering a pig is not meat in the freezer in the Mexican culture. It is a fiesta, when aunts and uncles and others come together.

Discussion Questions

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(1) According to staff members, how are Mexican/Hispanic and Anglo families similar and different?

(2) How does the resource team at Columbus reach out to parents?

(3) What are the advantages of multicultural education, as Consuela explains it?

(4) What do you know about the research on teachers' expectations? How might teachers' beliefs about students' patterns of behavior positively and negatively influence their actions?

(5) What more might you want to know?

- Who is included in the resource team? What is the team's role at Columbus School?
- The banner in the cafeteria reads "Columbus Elementary School—Where Two Cultures Blend." Is "Anglo culture" taught in the school? If so, how is this done?

- Which parents use the computer lab? What computer programs are they using? What are the goals of the evening program? (e.g., Is one goal to encourage social interaction? to teach parents to read?)

(6) If you were not bilingual or bicultural, how might you prepare yourself to teach at Columbus School? (Would you take courses; talk with parents; talk with students; confer with the principal and with Mario, Consuela, and other members of the resource team?)

(7) What might you learn from each type of activity? What kind of time commitment might each entail?

Moving Up and Moving On (1 minute, 25 seconds)

In this segment, staff members describe some of the challenges students face when they leave Columbus School. They discuss in particular the isolation students experience at the junior high school.

Edited Transcript

Consuela: There is a shock, a kind of shock, when our students go to junior high from here. They feel that they do not belong, and they feel isolated.

Vasquez: There are more people from other cultures, and I think that is hard. That first year at the junior high school is like a shock to them.

Consuela: But I think that multicultural education is helping to overcome this. I think that the students who leave this place understand the Anglo culture a little bit more. They understand that they are not going to be greeted and hugged and all this kind of thing, because that is not the Anglo way. I think that when they go out into the real world, they go out with an open mind, saying, "Not everybody is like me, but it is okay."

Ophelia: I also noticed something when I was working at the junior high. I would see a lot of the girls holding hands, and a lot of the other kids would really really go after them and call them, you know, lesbians or whatever. And to them, it is perfectly normal to hold hands. I think that we should respect them because that is the way they believe. And that's okay.

All: Touchy-feely type people . . . yeah . . . mm hmm . . . and they dance together. That is true . . . yes . . . even slow dances. It is the culture. It is true, we had that at the fiesta . . . and it is acceptable, even at our Cinco de Mayo . . . mm hmm . . . we had a lot of ladies dancing . . . older ladies too. it is just part of the culture, and we should respect that.

Discussion Questions

(1) What is the teachers' main concern regarding students' transition to the junior high school? What are some of the difficulties students face when they leave Columbus School?

(2) What do you think are some of the more effective ways to integrate students of different races and cultures in schools?

(3) What more would you want to know about this situation if you were teaching at Columbus School?

- Teachers talk about helping students understand the "Anglo culture." Do they view Anglo culture as monolithic American (i.e., non-Hispanic) culture? What are the advantages and disadvantages of generalizing about "Anglo" and "Hispanic" cultures?

- How do teachers take advantage of the "Anglo" culture and community that surround the school in Columbus?

(4) What might you do if you were in this situation?

- Would you teach students that some behaviors are culture-specific? If so, how would you do this? Give an example.

- In your study of multicultural education, which cultures would you examine?

- How would you help students understand that cultures are not monolithic?

- Would you involve students at the junior high school in your efforts to ease students' transition from one school to the next? If so, what might you do? (For example, would you organize a mentoring program? If so, how would you organize such a program?)

(5) What might be the consequences of your actions?

- What if anything might be lost and gained when teachers draw attention to culture-specific behaviors?

- One risk of examining particular cultures in a multicultural program is that of oversimplifying cultures or of excluding other cultures from study. How serious a threat might this be to the program?

- What types of information might you use to demonstrate variability within and between cultures? (Give some examples.)

- What might be some advantages and disadvantages of creating a student mentor program?

Cinco de Mayo (2 minutes, 20 seconds)

In this last portion of the videotape, one staff member describes ways the curriculum has changed since she was a student at Columbus School. Another talks about the benefits of the school's Cinco de Mayo celebration.

Paula: I attended Columbus School, and when I was a student, we always learned about American holidays. I never knew anything about any Mexican holiday. I lived in Mexico, but I didn't know about the holidays that were celebrated, because I was always here. So therefore, believe it or not, I have learned about history and other things, because I work here. And I feel that I was cheated, because there are many things that I am proud of that I missed out on all those years.

Consuela: I think it is good for the school and the home to get together every once in a while, and the Cinco de Mayo celebration is a very good way to do it, because both cultures can relate to the event. The fiesta is great, but preparing for the fiesta is even better. We have parents coming in here, anxious to help out. They sit in here and they cut out stuff. They make costumes, they sew, they go and borrow whatever they think we're going to need, and it really does make them feel a part of the school. That is what we really are aiming for—for the parent to feel at home and part of this school.

Students: (singing)

Cinco de Mayo, Cinco de Mayo. Cinco de Mayo is a day of celebration everyone can see.
Cinco de Mayo, Cinco de Mayo. Cinco de Mayo is a symbol of being free.
In the village of Puebla, the Mexican soldiers,
Fought against the French who wanted to control Mexico.
The Mexican soldiers surprised everybody
And won with the French, as history always will show.

Discussion Questions

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(1) What do you know about different ways multicultural education is taught? [e.g., Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant (1988), describe five approaches: teaching the exceptional and the culturally different, human relations, single-group studies, multicultural education, and education that is multicultural and reconstructionist.] How would you characterize multicultural education at Columbus School?

(2) What else might you want to know about Columbus School if you were to teach there?

- Who (other than staff members, students, and parents) is involved in Cinco de Mayo activities? For example, are local artists or business people involved in any way? Do students from other schools participate in the fiesta?

- What other celebrations are emphasized by the school?

- Are students learning about Hispanic cultures other than their own? What do they learn about other American cultures, such as Asian- or African-American cultures?

(3) What might you do if you were a teacher at Columbus School?

- How might you involve the communities of Columbus and Palomas in the Cinco de Mayo celebration?

- Would you show this video to other teachers and ask them some of the questions you were asked to address?

(4) What might be the consequences of your actions?

- Why might the Cinco de Mayo celebration be an important opportunity for the school to involve the larger community of businesses, community organizations, agencies, and artists in Columbus and Palomas?

- How might this videocase challenge your colleagues to think critically about the curriculum as portrayed in this videocase and to consider its effects on efforts to prepare Columbus students for future life experiences?

References

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Critical Perspective I of the Case:

by Ursula Casanova
(Arizona State University)

I approach discussions about multiculturalism from a very personal perspective. I have matured as an adult in this country, but my roots are in an island only some people recognize as part of the United States. My understanding and appreciation of the New Mexico case study is filtered first of all through that experience. It is also filtered through my many years of experience as a teacher and school principal, and now as a university professor.

I followed my parents, unwillingly, to New York City soon after completing high school in Puerto Rico. I did not want to leave the beautiful island where I had lived a very happy childhood, nor did I want to leave my high school friends who were ready to enter the University of Puerto Rico (UPR). The university was to me a friendly, familiar place, since I had been a student at the small and highly academic University High School. Nonetheless, New York suggested excitement and, in spite of my emotional resistance, I was curious enough to also look towards my new home with some anticipation.

I was fortunate to arrive in New York fully bilingual in English and Spanish, and with an excellent school record. I was accepted at the then all-female Hunter College of New York City, Park Avenue Branch. Unlike the UPR, Hunter had no campus. It was, and continues to be, essentially an office building. Its physical appearance was a disappointment to me. However, I was also aware of Hunter's reputation and eager for the academic challenge.

But I was not ready for the great divisions I perceived soon after my arrival. In the great pluralistic cauldrons of New York City and Hunter, I noticed that one of the first questions asked of anyone was: "What are you?" The answers were sometimes obvious, othertimes less so. People who, in my eyes, barely differed from each other in looks or speech identified themselves as Irish, Italian, Polish, Greek, German. I had never thought of the inhabitants of NY as nationals of distant countries; to me they were all "Americanos." I learned to respond to the query by identifying myself as Puerto Rican. My response, spoken with the strong accent of a newcomer, immediately branded me as a foreigner.

There were also clubs designated for different groups. I began to recognize superficial characteristics associated with different nationalities. There were few Puerto Ricans at Hunter then, and no Puerto Rican club to join. Eager to be a part of something familiar to me, I joined the Spanish Club and found there a handful of Puerto Rican students. The club served as a social center, and as a limited but useful network where we could share information about teachers, courses, and other collegial anxieties. It was neither political nor ethnic in its focus.

During the four years I remained at Hunter my sense of identity experienced a gradual shift. Although I arrived in New York as a Puerto Rican, I had not expected to be reminded of this fact very often. In Puerto Rico I had learned that I was a citizen of the U.S., entitled to all the rights and responsibilities implied by that label. I came ready to accept and to be accepted. And yet I felt continually forced to choose between denying my cultural heritage or conspicuously displaying it. Which club would I join? Which parades would I attend? Was I "foreign," or was I a citizen of the United States?

Several times during my four years in New York City, I was forced to remember that I was different. When I wore green on St. Patrick's Day, I was reminded that Puerto Ricans were not entitled to do so by one of my Irish classmates. And, after a year of friendly relationship with the owners of the brownstone we rented, we were asked to please not say we were Puerto Rican when queried by poten-

tial buyers of the building. We could pass for Italians, they said, ". . . not that they had anything against Puerto Ricans."

There were also the "compliments:" "You can't be Puerto Rican!" or "You don't look like a Puerto Rican!" Soon I began to understand the subtle implications of these so-called "compliments." Speakers were giving me an opportunity to deny my heritage and to join the majority, or to confess and remain marginalized. I resisted but was nonetheless forced into a choice. This forced choice was and continues to be, a source of constant tension, although I have chosen to be openly and proudly Puerto Rican.

Native foods, the Spanish language unsullied by English borrowings, and all the other accouterments of the culture within which I had grown up became increasingly important as I began to identify more and more with my ethnic group. During the Civil Rights movement, I also began to ally myself with the recently created "Hispanic" minority. Gradually I became an ethnic, and assumed my proper place in the American cultural landscape.

Iswajid (1974) defines ethnicity as "an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or as descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary groups" (p. 122). You may have no choice in selecting the group into which you are born, but you do have a choice in determining your allegiances. And that choice is contingent upon your encounters with members of another group. I made the choice, but I remain suspicious about how much control I was really able to exercise on the matter. There were a multitude of implicit and explicit messages to remind me that I was different, and that the difference somehow made me inferior. I had to react against this threat. I could either accept the majority's verdict and come to terms with my own inferiority, or I could affirm my own worthiness and reject their judgment. That is, if "they" did not want me, "they" must be no good. I chose to affirm myself. My self-concept was sturdy, and to accept myself as inferior was something I could not, would not do.

There is perhaps no better training for an educator in a diverse society. These experiences have made me extremely conscious of the ways in which minority children, and other marginalized populations, can become confused about their identities, and of the complicity of the schools in this process. As a teacher, school principal, and now university professor, I have encouraged my students to accept their own history so they might accept that of others. I think the ethnic divisiveness we decry in this country is a direct result of a process of forced assimilation that denies newcomers their history and culture. I am not the first one to say this. Historian David Tyack(1974) noted the deleterious effects of the turn-of the-century "Americanization" movement on immigrant families:

> In their demands for Anglo-conformity, many educators went further: nothing less would satisfy than assaulting all forms of cultural differences, than creating a sense of shame at being "foreign". . . . Many observers commented that the positions of parents and children were becoming reversed, as fathers and mothers depended for guidance on the young, who knew English and could interpret the workings of American society. This led, they felt, to increased disrespect for parents, to delinquency, and to alienation among the second generation. (pp. 235, 237)

Only recently have the descendants of those immigrants begun to reclaim their heritage. I do not see any conflict between being a citizen of the United States and speaking more than one language and holding on to important traditional values.

I believe both bilingual and multicultural education have a role to play in the process of developing a sense of nationhood. As the administrator of a bilingual school, I was able to see the changes, in both children and their families, that followed open acceptance of the community's language and culture. This was true not only of the Puerto Rican community with whom I identified, but also of the small Turkish minority that attended the school. All students were taught their native language as well as English. I believed my job as an administrator was to make sure that all our students felt free to be themselves, but also welcomed into the U.S. family.

I think it is terribly important for educators to engage in a deliberate effort to ensure that, at least in schools, our children are free to be who they are by virtue of temperament, history, or cultural background. While we should be cognizant of the different ways in which the world is understood by

different groups, we also have a responsibility to ensure that every child is judged on his or her merits, not on the supposed characteristics of the group to which we assign them. Japanese children have a right to do poorly in math, Puerto Ricans do not have to be good dancers, and African-Americans do not have to join the basketball team to be accepted.

I have another concern that is relevant to this exercise. I reject instruction in diversity that is predicated on which holidays we celebrate and what we like to eat. Although these are important ways in which we define ourselves, there are deeper and more important characteristics that both unite us as humans and divide us as individuals. While most of us are willing to taste unusual foods, or learn new dances, most of us would rather not discuss the differences in values or world views that are bound to arise in this very mixed company that is the United States. Those must also be a part of our multicultural discourse. A heterogeneous society must be prepared to deal with conflict. Cultural differences will invariably lead to conflict, and we ignore it at our own peril. Genuine acceptance of diversity must include ways to deal with the inevitable conflicts posed by a diverse society.

It is from this personal and professional perspective that I approach the analysis of the case study.

Facts of the Case

The focus of this case is an elementary school in Columbus, New Mexico, located only 3 miles from the U.S.-Mexico border. It is a bilingual school serving about 340 children in grades kindergarten through five, 95 percent of whom are Spanish-speakers. Almost half of the students live in Mexico, although most were born in the United States and are, therefore, U.S. citizens. Students are also poor; 97 percent of those in attendance are entitled to free or reduced-price lunches.

The instructional program begins with Spanish and continues thus until third grade when the transition into English begins. The classroom in the case under study is a second-grade classroom. Two lessons are presented: a spelling lesson conducted by the classroom teacher and a lesson on the characteristics and use of chiles (peppers) presented by the Bilingual Resource Teacher (BRT). Both teachers use concurrent translation—that is, whatever they say in one language is immediately repeated in the other.

The spelling lesson consists of 10 words in English accompanied by their Spanish translations. After a choral reading of the list in both English and Spanish, individual children are asked to use each English word in a sentence. That activity is followed by the construction of sentences in Spanish.

The next lesson begins with a description of the chile displayed by the teacher, and a brief discussion of its biological development and historical use. The teacher alludes to the nutritional value ascribed to chile, and to its selection as the state vegetable. Then the teacher brings out enough chiles to allow each child to prepare a set of them to string together in a long classroom "chile ristra."

One other school activity shown in this case study is the fiesta celebrating "El Cinco de Mayo." It appears to be a community-wide affair. Brightly costumed adults and children participate in the celebration through parades, music, and dances. Several of the teachers previously seen in the videotape are here seen as active participants in the fiesta.

Relevant Perspectives

Several educators are interviewed as part of this case study: Armijo, the school principal; Leyba, the second-grade teacher; Vasquez, the BRT; and several other women who, together with Leyba, are introduced as the Resource Team but are not individually identified. Through the conversation we learn that one of them is called Consuela, but her role in the school (or the roles of the other members of the team) is not clear.

All of those interviewed speak highly of the support they get from the students' parents, even though so many of them reside in Mexico. The principal notes the difficulty of making contact by telephone, because many families do not have telephones and often receive their calls at locations distant from their homes. However, he says "they'll do anything to help the schools" and so, when necessary, they send the parents letters that allow them to come across the border to meet with school personnel.

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Armijo describes his faculty as made up mostly of English-speakers. He appears to justify the low number of Spanish-speaking teachers when he says that " . . . the only reason children are sent here is so they learn English, period." He adds that the parents don't understand the bilingual program and complain that their children " . . . already know Spanish . . . " and, we infer, should concentrate on learning English. A "true" bilingual program, he explains, should result in bilingual competence among all participants. In his school, for example, English monolinguals should learn Spanish while the reverse should be true of Spanish monolinguals.

The principal's own perspective is that the children need to learn the skills "for the American way of life . . . the American dream of an education." He believes that most of the students will spend their adult lives in the United States.

Leyba, the second-grade teacher featured in this case, grew up in a ranch in Las Vegas, New Mexico. She was an active member of 4-H and of Future Farmers of America (FFA). This is her third year at the school. She says she was hired at Columbus because of her fluency in Spanish and the need to serve the school's Spanish-speakers who comprise most of the school's population. Leyba confesses to her inability to teach Spanish reading, however, because of her lack of full competence in that language. She has assigned that job to her "wonderful" aide. Leyba also decries the lack of instructional materials in Spanish. She is supposed to teach in Spanish part of the day, but only the reading books are in Spanish.

Lynda Leyba believes that, at Columbus, multicultural education means that most of the students are from a different culture, mostly Mexican or Hispanic. She adds that "[Y]ou want the children to understand their culture is as important as the dominant culture." Leyba says she has the children make up sentences in Spanish, so they feel they "can do something well . . . [to] help their self-esteem."

Vasquez, the BRT, defines his role as doing "whatever the teacher needs me [to do]." He commutes 160 miles daily to teach at Columbus School and is strongly supportive of his students' cultural identity: "[E]very child's culture should be preserved," he says, because it can so easily be lost and "[T]hey forget where they came from."

Of the school, Vasquez says, "[W]e're all friends here . . . right here on the border . . . a great place to teach." He also alludes to the parents' support and to the students' respectfulness and willingness to learn.

Leyba is a member of the Resource Team and participates with at least three other women in the discussion by this group. Vasquez's voice is heard, but he does not appear among the members. The role this group plays in the school is not clear, but the discussion included in this case centers on culture and the school.

Team members appear to be conscious of the special situation of Columbus in a bicultural environment. They teach on similarities across the communities, such as the need for both parents in Mexican and Anglo households to be employed outside the home. However, one of the women notes that outside employment for mothers is not as well accepted in Mexico, where being a housewife has greater status than in the United States. In the United States, she says, they have even changed the name to "homemaker."

Education is seen as a necessity in both cultures, Consuela says, but another member of the team describes her perceptions of differences in expectations on either side of the border. She says that while Anglo parents have their eyes on college, Mexican parents demand only preparation for work for their children, but adds that this seems to be changing. Someone also mentions the success of the computer lab. The parents are participating so enthusiastically they do not even want to take breaks during their lessons.

Consuela describes a difference she sees in the behavior of parents vis-a-vis the school. Mexican parents, she says, take responsibility for their child's behavior. They expect the child to come to school to learn. Discipline is the parents' concern. In the United States, she notes, parents give up their responsibility to the school: "They're in school, you teach them." Leyba agrees, noting how after parents first ask about their child's progress in English, they want to know how they are behaving.

As the team moves into a discussion of multicultural education, Consuela takes the lead. She explains that multicultural education takes advantage of the child's language, viewing it as an asset. A teacher who can relate to the child's language

can get much more participation from the students, she says. For example, when a student tells the teacher that his family had a "matanza," a monolingual teacher may assume this merely means that the family will have meat to put in the freezer, while a bilingual-bicultural teacher will understand the significance of that activity for the family. It isn't just the slaughtering of an animal, it is a whole fiesta. A teacher aware of this would be able to extend the topic for an hour's discussion.

Further discussion among the members of the Resource Team centers on the transition between the elementary and senior high schools. They use the word "shock" to describe the reaction of Columbus students to the school environment. Consuela says their students feel isolated and out-of-place in the junior high school setting. However, she adds that "[M]ulticultural education helps them to understand they are not going to be greeted and hugged because they understand that is not the 'Anglo way.'" Consuela thinks it helps students who leave to understand the Anglo culture, to have an open mind. They know that not everybody is like them, but that is OK.

Another member of the team comments that she used to work at the junior high, and she would see the girls from Columbus holding hands. Their classmates would make fun of them and call them lesbians. They did not understand that hand-holding has no ulterior connotation among Mexican girls.

Someone else adds her endorsement to multicultural education. As so many of her students, she also attended school in the United States while living in Mexico, but she learned nothing about Mexican culture, only about U.S. history. It was not until she began to work at Columbus as an adult that she learned about the holidays and history of Mexico. She feels cheated, she says, of what she missed out all those years.

Further discussion is about the big school fiesta, "El Cinco de Mayo." Consuelo says that, although "la fiesta" is great, the preparations for it are even better. Parents come in anxious to help out. She repeats what others have said before: parents will do anything for the school. And, she concludes, "[T]hat is what we really want, for the parents to feel at home and a part of the school."

The videotape does not include interviews with students. I can only infer students' feelings and reactions to the school and its teachers from their interaction with each other and their teachers as they arrive at school, engage in classroom activities, and participate in the fiesta.

I cannot help but wonder why, with such well-behaved, eager students, teachers are not taking more of a chance in the classroom.

The rush of the children toward the buses that bring them to the school, and their rush to the school itself when they arrive, suggest their comfort with their teachers. Further confirmation is available in the visible interactions between adults and children around the school. Students also seem to get along well with each other. Much embracing and hand-holding can be seen among the girls, and easy camaraderie among the boys is also noticeable. One gets the feeling of a big, happy family.

Within the classroom, it is another story, however. Children appear bored, distracted, although they are always well-behaved. They seem to accept the dreariness of school as an unavoidable component of their education. At one moment, during Vasquez's lesson, one boy responds with an assured but silent nod when the teacher asks a question he then answers himself. There is so little talk, even between the children themselves, one is surprised to see their exuberance when they get to the fiesta.

At the fiesta, they can hardly be contained. Their banners fly high, they dance with abandon, and their voices rise in song. This is clearly a liberating experience for the students and perhaps for the faculty who are also participants.

The difference between the outside and inside worlds children experience at Columbus School is dramatic. I cannot help but wonder why, with such well-behaved, eager students, teachers are not taking more of a chance in the classroom.

Professional Knowledge

"Multicultural education" is one of those amorphous terms in education, like "whole language" and "bilingual education." They mean different things to different people but they are often left unexamined, as though they were clearly understood. For Leyba, multicultural education ensures that her students understand their culture is as important as the dominant culture. She seems to limit this approach to situations such as the one at her school and to the populations represented there. But multicultural education in the United States must encompass a much broader view. It should be inclusive education that helps students to understand and to appreciate the country's diversity and their place in it. It is a national educational need if we are to continue to live successfully together in the pursuit not only of individual but common happiness. And, in more pragmatic terms, multicultural educational environments can better prepare our children for the international competition they are sure to face.

From the tape, I cannot determine the degree of cultural diversity reflected in the classrooms and school at Columbus Elementary.

Columbus Elementary does have an unusual problem. It is operating in a bicultural setting, but this setting, while geographically distant from others, is not independent of them. The nation is a mosaic, and the children at Columbus need to understand the variety represented in that mosaic. It is also true that, while the nearby border separates two political entities, the cultural border is much less noticeable. In fact, without prior knowledge, someone looking at this videotape might assume that the landscape, and even the school building, are in Mexico.

The borderlands are really transitional zones where cultures, in this case Mexican, Anglo, and Native American, blend. And the ingredients in the mix may originate in one or the other side. It is important to avoid dichotomizing the cultures too much in such a setting. Differences exist, but similarities seem much more prevalent, at least on a surface level. And, unfortunately, it is at the surface level that the instruction appears to remain in this classroom.

I suspect, for example, that chiles and ristras are equally popular north and south of the Columbus border. This is the case in Phoenix, where I live. Here you would not be able to discern a family's cultural background from the presence or absence of ristras by the door. Ristras are now a part of the southwestern culture, a culture that ignores borders. Interestingly, the school's emphasis on Cinco de Mayo as representative of Mexican culture is also a characteristic of southwestern culture. In their own country, Mexicans pay little attention to Cinco de Mayo. It is a mystery to me why it has become so important along the borderlands. It is also, apparently, a mystery to the Mexicans who place much more importance on their Independence Day.

Students at Columbus Elementary also need to understand how different histories have given rise to different cultural outlooks in the two countries they bridge, and also among the many other cultural groups that make up the nation. Their multicultural education needs to connect them to other parts of the country so they can understand its cultural vastness.

Multiculturalism is not an add-on; it should be embedded in the everyday life of the classroom and school. To be effective, multiculturalism must be a part of the school culture communicated both implicitly and explicitly in a multitude of ways. For example, bulletin boards, assembly programs, the arts, office decorations, the school menu, and library books are all vehicles of communication that silently speak to the students. They tell them what is important, and what is not, what is valued, and what is not, what is beautiful, and what is not. From the tape, I cannot determine the degree of cultural diversity reflected in the classrooms and school at Columbus Elementary. I can see a translation of the Pledge of Allegiance, but the flag displayed with the U.S. flag over the bulletin board is not Mexico's; perhaps it is New Mexico's flag.

Another way of demonstrating multiculturalism is through the explicit and implicit curriculum. Leyba tells us that she is not competent enough in Spanish to teach it, as a language, to her students. The aide is the Spanish teacher in this classroom. Whether intended or not, this arrangement sends a clear message to the children: English is the important language, Spanish has a lower status. Children are astute readers of the environment, and they know who is in charge in the classroom, who has the higher status. It does not matter whether the aide is a talented teacher; her experience or skills are irrelevant because her role identifies her for both students and parents as less than a teacher.

Leyba also explains that she lacks instructional materials in Spanish. Once again, there is an implicit message for the students. English is what is important here. That is where we invest our resources, even when, as in this case, Spanish is supposed to be taught for part of the day. These conditions are part of the hidden curriculum at Columbus. They are unspoken messages the children are receiving and interpreting as they move through the school.

The lack of support for Spanish is not surprising since Armijo, the principal, speaks of the learning of English as the primary task for the school. Although he speaks of "true" bilingual programs, and their intended consequences, he does not seem to be supporting such a comprehensive program at Columbus. In educational jargon, "a transitional bilingual program" is one where the native language is used as a bridge to the second, in this case Spanish to English. Such programs differ from "developmental bilingual programs," where the intention is to maintain and develop full competence in the home language, as well as to learn a second language. Armijo's choice of a transitional program and his choices in personnel (that is, teachers who do not speak Spanish and a teacher who speaks Spanish but does not possess the necessary skills to teach reading in Spanish), suggest that his goal is not for students to achieve full bilingualism. Now that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has been approved, such competence would undoubtedly give young people an edge in the job market. I suspect if Armijo chose to make such an argument, it would be quickly understood by the parents, both Mexican and Anglo, of the students at Columbus. We are told parents understand issues of economic necessity, an understanding that is evident in their enthusiastic participation in the school's computer laboratory.

The teacher explains her use of Spanish translations for the spelling words as a way to help students understand the English words. However, these words seem extremely basic for second graders. I cannot imagine that, at this age, any one of them would have difficulty understanding "party" or "far," for example. Leyba also justifies her use of Spanish sentences as an effort at helping the students' self-concept. This is a puzzling statement because everything we hear about the school and the parents, and everything we see or hear from and about the students, suggests children are happy with who they are. In fact, it is quite possible that those who are U.S. citizens may feel particularly fortunate, given their freedom to choose and their parents' efforts to provide a rich educational experience. Additionally, the children do not seem to have any trouble making up sentences in English. Although they have some difficulty with pronunciation, they seem to have achieved basic competence in English. In any event, self-concept is not enhanced by using Spanish in sentences. We have known for many years that a sturdy self-concept is most likely to be developed through challenging academic work. If Columbus students suffer from low self-concept, it would be much more useful to present them with a more challenging curriculum than what we see in the tape.

The instruction we see in this classroom is decontextualized and has little to do with the children's lives, in spite of the supposed multicultural emphasis. Several of the students showed signs of boredom which is not surprising, given the monotone of delivery and the dullness of the spelling lesson. The lesson violates everything we know about how children learn. It is totally teacher-directed and the words appear to lack connection to anything else the students are learning. I cannot tell where those words came from, but they were certainly not selected by the children. Children's lack of involvement with the content of instruction contributes to a lifeless classroom environment which contrasts with the enthusiasm of the children in the playground and during the

Cinco de Mayo fiesta. The students appear docile enough but totally uninvolved. They seem be tolerating this activity dutifully, but I doubt if any learning is taking place.

The teacher's effort to connect the words to the children through Spanish, if we disregard the self-concept issue, may be seem a reasonable way to incorporate the children's language into the lesson, but the Spanish words are no better connected to the children. And the concurrent translation used by the teacher is considered a poor strategy in bilingual education.

The bilingual resource teacher (BRT) also uses concurrent translation to teach a lesson about chiles (peppers). Although I assume this is part of the "multicultural curriculum," the classroom teacher, while present, does not participate in any meaningful way in this lesson. She makes no attempt to connect the lesson to other instructional content. The BRT was animated and did somewhat better at capturing the students' interest with a hands-on activity they seemed to enjoy. However, the lesson was no more connected to the students than the spelling lesson.

Chiles are likely to be important in these children's lives, and yet Vasquez remains completely in control of the content throughout. The students are not given an opportunity to bring their own knowledge to bear on the topic or to incorporate their own experiences into the lesson which includes concepts such as Vitamins A and C, "natural digestive," and "state vegetable." It is not clear how many of these concepts are understood by the students, but any of them could provide interesting extensions of the topic; yet none is elaborated upon. There is also at least one opportunity when the students could have relied on their own experience to challenge their teacher. He said that chiles start out green and then turn red. While this is true, there are many different kinds of chiles, some of which are used green. Unfortunately, there was no opportunity to discuss these variations and the reasons behind them.

The lack of elaboration might be related to Vasquez's use of concurrent translation. This strategy is frowned upon by scholars in bilingual education, because it limits the teacher's ability to elaborate student contributions, and it tends to reduce classroom discourse to its most basic level. In addition, it keeps the teacher at the center while the students remain passive listeners. This pedagogical arrangement is not conducive to language development in either Spanish or English.

I cannot tell from this videotape how the bilingual program is structured at Columbus. Is concurrent translation the preferred strategy? Given the lack of fully competent Spanish-speaking teachers, how is instruction in the two languages balanced? When and how does transition from Spanish to English occur? Does Spanish instruction end at that time, or is it modified? How much Spanish instruction do English monolingual students receive? Are they also expected to become bilingual in Spanish? I would have liked to know the answers to these questions.

Teaching Focus

I get the impression that Leyba's short experience in the classroom calls for more direction from her supervisors, and yet, I am not sure that Armijo is well-suited for the job. There seem to be two parallel perspectives operating in the school. Armijo seems to have a limited vision of the possibilities for educating the students in his school. His emphasis is on English, and on the children learning "American" (isn't Mexico also "American"?) skills appears to blind him to the potential for developing truly bilingual-bicultural adults who can compete advantageously in the country's economy.

The principal's position is balanced by that of some of the other adults, particularly Vasquez and Consuelo. Both of them, and perhaps others, seem to have a clearer perception of the advantages Columbus children may gain from their unique educational situation. However, neither one of them, nor any of the other participants in this case, get beyond the immediate benefits of bilingual-multicultural education. No one appears aware of the potential advantages this unique situation may have for their students.

The lack of vision in the leadership of the school may play a part in what I perceive to be ambivalence on Leyba's approach. Although she says she was hired for her Spanish competence, Leyba seems to accept her lack of fluency in Spanish, and the aide's assumption of Spanish reading responsibilities as a given and permanent condition. Yet she is only three miles away from the border, and

surely there are teachers there who could help her to increase her fluency and also teach her how to teach. She complains about the lack of books and, yet, once again, the border is only three miles away and books are readily available (I have bought many lovely, and inexpensive, storybooks and audiotapes at the border myself).

Leyba's attempt at multiculturalism (through the use of Spanish during the spelling lesson) suggests good intentions but weak pedagogical knowledge. She does not seem aware of the much stronger messages her students are receiving from her surrender of Spanish reading to the aide, the dearth of Spanish materials, and her lack of participation in the BRT's lesson.

The sample of instruction we see is limited but, based on that, the curriculum I see reflects low expectations for these second graders. Given, as noted by Vasquez, the students' willingness to learn, their good behavior, and the strong parental support everyone speaks about, these children should be a joy to teach. But, although the staff seems to recognize this, they also do not seem to expect those good qualities to translate into academic excellence. I feel, though I cannot quote specific indicators, a certain paternalism among the staff at Columbus. There appears to be a lot of love and nurturing, but expectations seem to be low. I would venture to say that the "shock" of moving on to the less nurturing upper-level schools would be ameliorated if Columbus students were able to demonstrate the benefits of superior preparation for those upper-level courses. Their multicultural training should enhance, not detract from their academic training.

The lesson of the BRT is a case in point. Although the topic is related to the students' lives, I would hope for more depth and for more attention to the truly important influences on Mexican and U.S. life. Students might study, for example, the indigenous cultures who knew no borders. How have those cultures affected life in each country? We know that long before the European arrival, Native American tribes were trading with each other up and down the hemisphere. We know that those who traded were accomplished polyglots. What better way to connect the past to the present? To connect the long history of trade across the border to the NAFTA agreement? What better way for the children to understand how their own potential for full bilingualism is not an aberration but a historical tradition? And this understanding might also help them to aspire to emulating those early traders as cultural brokers across the borders. In contrast, a lesson on making ristras only prepares Columbus students for cheap trade business at roadside stands.

I am puzzled by the lack of attention to the indigenous communities of the Americas at Columbus. Everyone speaks in terms of two cultures, disregarding the prior Native American influence on both of those cultures. A big sign on the cafeteria wall reads: "Where two cultures blend." But neither the Old nor New Mexico can be easily disentangled from its Native American past. And this past is still present on both sides of the border; it influences what people look like, what they eat, and how they medicate themselves. It also influences their art and their worldview. Sadly, this important influence is missing from the multicultural discourse at Columbus.

Suggested Teaching Actions and Possible Consequences

Lacking direction from her supervisor, Leyba might be best served by some of her colleagues at Columbus or, as I indicated before, by experienced teachers across the border. Her predicament cannot be isolated from the total school environment; however, Columbus Elementary appears to be a happy, loving environment for children. Unfortunately, the school also appears to contribute to the notion that poor children cannot excel academically, even under the close to ideal circumstances existing in this community. Some of the problem might be related to the inability of teachers to recognize the knowledge and skills children, even poor children from across the border, bring to the classroom. While that knowledge may, on the surface, bear little resemblance to school knowledge, it can provide a starting point for grounding the abstractions of school in students' life experiences.

The teachers I have met through his videocase are surely caring people committed to their students. They are certainly not out to hurt them but perhaps have fallen prey to the general perception that poor children cannot aspire too much, and that children are only capable of learning one lan-

guage or of operating in one culture well. These teachers have so much to offer, and they could do more if they were challenged to apply, for example, Henry Levin's notions of "Accelerated Schools" to their setting.

The concept of acceleration would argue for the application of our best knowledge about how children learn to these classrooms. Cooperative learning, peer-tutoring, constructivism, family math (Stenmark, Thompson, & Cossey, 1986) , reciprocal learning, "whole language" and so many other perspectives and strategies have been shown to be effective ways to increase students' active participation in learning. And this is what seems to be lacking in the lessons I see. The students are marginal to the lesson. The teacher holds center court, and students are passive observers of the activities. There are two exceptions: To some extent, Vasquez's hands-on ristra activity succeeds in waking up the children (although they are still rather quiet and continue to be dependent on the teacher), and, of course, the fiesta, as I described above. These two exceptions demonstrate that the enthusiasm of the children is there waiting to be awakened.

I am also reminded, as I write, of Shirley Heath's (1983) work in the Piedmont. She documented, in *Ways with Words*, how differences in community language, and the extent of similarity between mode of discourse in the community and the classroom, contributed or detracted from students' academic success upon entering school. Geoffrey Saxe's(1988) work with the street children of Brazil is also informative. He found that children who were failing elementary school math were accomplished mathematicians on the street. They could not only compute the cost of merchandise, they could also index the cost to daily changes in the inflation rate, as well as perform conversions to different monetary systems.

Borderland children are also often assistants in small family businesses. They learn much in those situations and that learning can be used to advantage in the classroom. The "funds of knowledge" work of Luis Moll, Cathy Amanti, Deborah Neff, and Norma González (1992) at the University of Arizona has succeeded in establishing such connections. Through collaboration with anthropologists such as Norma Gonsález at the University's Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology (directed by Carlos Velez-Ibanez), teachers have been trained to conduct extensive ethnographic interviews with their students' parents. Through these interviews, they have investigated the knowledge of poor "barrio" parents and how this knowledge is communicated to children. Teachers then use this information as a framework upon which to build curricular units of great complexity. Thus the traditional parental visit to class to give a talk is much expanded by teachers who use community knowledge as a springboard to abstract school learning.

A most obvious part of this home learning is the language. Borderland children live a bilingual reality. That reality should be continued in school. Columbus should have a truly bilingual program, one where children fully develop their bilingual skills in all language areas. Parents will understand, and applaud, a program that will enhance their child's opportunity in the workplace. The half-hearted transitional program offered at Columbus is cheating these children of their birthright. All over the country monolingual adults are paying thousands of dollars to become bilingual in Spanish. Ironically, they often go to Mexico to accomplish this difficult task. The students at Columbus certainly need to learn English but they can learn both English **and** Spanish. English classes do not stop at the third grade in U.S. schools. By that time, children have only learned minimal competencies. To be competent users of any language, we must continue to read and write at increasingly sophisticated levels. We must learn to communicate complex ideas, to argue our points, and to elaborate on our thoughts.

For many of us, Spanish-English bilingualism also means ready access to a great portion of the world's literature: Cervantes and Shakespeare, Carlos Fuentes, and Toni Morrison. I can read all of their works and, because of my multiculturalism, I can even make some sense of them. This is what I would like to see at Columbus Elementary—a sense of the possibilities for these children. What I see, instead, is a comfortable womb lined with complacency and implicit acceptance of limitations.

This sense of limitations is best gleaned through the concerns expressed about the transition between Columbus and the upper-level schools. As I noted before, academic excellence would do

much to increase the self-confidence of Columbus's graduates upon entering the larger, less nurturing environment of the junior high. But the staff at Columbus should also take steps to minimize the shock of that transition. Students from Columbus could visit the receiving schools, and perhaps teachers from those schools could visit Columbus and prepare the students for the transition. Former Columbus students, now attending and well adjusted at the secondary level, could also facilitate what appears to be a difficult process. Students at the junior high could gain a measure of multiculturalism through joint programs with the younger crowd. The process should be reciprocal. Upon hearing the Resource Team's discuss this problem of transition, I get a feeling of helplessness, as though the problem were insurmountable. And yet there are many possible interventions that would likely be effective.

The tape ends with the fiesta, and this certainly appears to be an all-inclusive event with great support from the students' parents. They are apparently able to bring their talents and skills to bear on this occasion, and this celebratory spirit must do much for the cohesiveness expressed by so many in the videotape. I do wish, however, that the staff would extend themselves to affirm parents' abilities not only in this stereotypical activity ("Mexicans love fiestas"), but also in the academic work of the school. Programs such as the University of Arizona's funds of knowledge could do much to expand the sturdy networks already established at Columbus. Parents' knowledge can only be legitimized through its incorporation into the real work of the school. But for this to happen, teachers need to understand that such knowledge is there, waiting to be tapped. They need to believe that they can learn from the parents.

Another program that would enhance the students', as well as the teachers', sense of place would be the development of students as ethnographers. Stanford's Shirley Brice Heath (1985) has done this successfully, as has Carmen Mercado (1992) of Hunter College. Although they have usually worked with older children, the techniques can be applied, in some fashion, by younger students. The borderlands are among the most interesting areas in the United States. And many who are still among us contributed to that history. The children at Columbus would gain much more than basic skills from engaging in ethnographic activities.

The Columbus case leaves me with a feeling of sadness. Many of us who struggle with the difficulties of urban education would see Columbus, New Mexico, as an ideal: well-behaved children who are willing to learn, supportive parents who will do anything for the school. There is poverty, but apparently little if any violence. Drugs do not appear to be a problem, at least as far as the students are concerned. We also see a magnificent scenery that seems to have no limits. This is a place where Mexican-American children should excel: Are they? If not, why not? None of the usual excuses will hold, and there is no reason to believe that these children are unable to learn. This is where teachers and schools can really make a difference.

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Critical Perspective II on the Case:

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I am a teacher. There have been many times over the years when, out of frustration and fatigue, I have tried to shrug "teacherness" off like a cloak, but to no avail. There is something both intellectual and affective that keeps pulling me back into the world of teaching. The life and conversations in school communities, in university classrooms, at home with my teacher-husband, and at school with the adult writers' group are personally satisfying. The intellectual stimulation and the exhilaration I experience stem from satisfying, challenging work worthy of my time and energy. That does not mean there are not days when I try to shrug off that cloak; we pay high prices for commitment to teaching and learning. But difficult times are set in the richness of roles, relationships, and learning that mark life as a teacher.

I have grown up, been educated, and spent my teaching years in Albuquerque, New Mexico. I am accustomed to living and working in the midst of diversity. The sound of multiple languages in conversation can be heard everywhere—in schools and classrooms, in students' homes and neighborhoods, at the mall and museum. Nonetheless, it is possible to grow up in Albuquerque untouched by the diverse community in which we live. Interestingly enough, it was not until my first year of teaching that I fully experienced life in two languages and two cultures.

The community in which I was raised was primarily a monocultural, monolingual one. Although I was aware Spanish was an essential language in the larger community, I was not motivated to learn the language. Spanish was not spoken publicly in my schools (outside of a language classroom setting) or in my neighborhood. Indeed, many of my peers probably had Spanish-speaking parents who specifically chose not to speak Spanish at home, because their language was not valued or was perhaps disallowed in the school settings of their youth. Although we have a long tradition of diversity in New Mexico, we have not always appreciated that diversity. I believe, however, we *are* getting better at listening to and learning from the many voices of our culture.

Fortunately, my first classroom teaching assignment, not 20 minutes away from my childhood home, thrust me into a world where Spanish was valued in the community and was the dominant and/or preferred language of large numbers of students and staff. Washington Middle School is set in the middle of Albuquerque and includes affluent Anglos, Hispanic families who have lived in the area for centuries, and families who have recently arrived from Mexico. I could not have asked for a better place to begin learning about teaching. Although my parents had taught me to be respectful of others who were different from me, this was to be my first professional experience dealing with human diversity. At the time, educators were focused on preserving different cultures and languages. It was a perfect intersection of time and place for me, and the beginning of many years spent in teaching and learning with Spanish-speaking children and adults.

I came to these students, their cultures, and their languages with respect and a desire to learn. I did not believe I could establish supportive, productive relationships with middle schoolers of any language without honoring their diversity and listening to their ideas and opinions. During my first year, I taught mathematics. I was asked at the end of the school year to serve as the language arts teacher. Math for me had been a world of "sign-symbols." Between my rudimentary Spanish skills and the aid of an educational assistant, I thought I had communicated reasonably well with my sixth-grade students, a number of whom were monolingual Spanish speakers. (If the truth were known, I could have done a much better job

teaching mathematics.)

The shift in teaching assignment was good fortune. I realized immediately that textbook-based language arts instruction was neither engaging nor effective. I was forced to consider my own practice in terms of my clientele, my beliefs about learning, and my own experiences as a literate human being. Thus began a career of experiencing language with children, which has remained my passion ever since. More important, I began to understand how my beliefs about language and literacy instruction affected everything in the classroom, from the way we used time, to daily routines, student-teacher roles, assessment, the physical environment, and everything in between.

I spent the next several years at Washington Middle School teaching and learning about language arts and literature. I read everything I could get my hands on about a student-centered, process-oriented approach to reading and writing. I took classes at the university. I collaborated with sympathetic colleagues and held "passing-period conferences" with the teacher across the hall to compare notes. There were days we would close the door at the ring of the bell with the children inside and ourselves still in the hall. But we always laughed and headed back into our classrooms, and we always learned. From my interactions with students, I learned that language is at the very core of who and what we are—a lesson that enhanced my respect for humankind. I also came to respect classroom practice that enhances the depth and breadth of language usage.

I worked hard in those years to build a foundation of understanding about literacy teaching with diverse students. I took responsibility for altering my own practices based on theoretical learning and on my experiences in the classroom with children as informants. Many teachers around me tried what was widely called "whole language," proclaimed its failure, and reverted to previous methods. I believed then, and still do, that much of that perceived failure was due to a superficial understanding and implementation of process-oriented language practices in the classroom. I found myself, in collaboration with middle schoolers, building an organized and highly structured environment of routines, expectations, and assessments. I wanted students to be independent, responsible, decision-making learners and active language users, supported by timely and appropriate direct instruction on individual, small-group, and whole-group bases.

By the time I was teaching at Washington, both of my children were born. For me, as for many teachers, parenting influenced my relationships and interactions with students. Every child was someone's valued son or daughter, like my own. At the same time, because of my work, I was raising children with an awareness of bilingualism that my own parents did not have. Bilingualism for my own children became a goal. The dual role of parent and teacher had its occasional awkward moments, but overall, it influenced my teaching positively, pushing me to consider the implications of my teaching on all our sons and daughters.

I left middle school in frustration over the district-wide decision to consolidate our two-period language arts/literature block into one period. This new arrangement meant I worked with twice as many students as before, with half the time to establish a community of readers and writers. Ironically, the change in schedule occurred during "The Year of the Reader." The change seemed in direct conflict with a growing body of knowledge supporting time, ownership, and response as critical elements for students in language arts classes. Elementary teaching experience followed (again, in a bilingual school); the beliefs I developed at Washington served my young students well.

I completed my master's degree at the University of New Mexico and became active in the Rio Grande Writing Project, a site for the National Writing Project. I also shifted to my current role as writing resource teacher at an elementary school whose staff members focus on developing biliterate students. The school is located in a primarily Hispanic community in Albuquerque's South Valley. My teammates, bilingual resource teachers, are native-Spanish speakers—patient and enthusiastic guides to new worlds of language and culture. I am thrilled to work with people like them who are interested in the teaching of writing. Day-in and day-out, I work in classrooms with students and teachers, continuing to learn about supporting language users. I also work to improve my own Spanish.

For the past two years, our team has been especially excited about our Adobe Acres Authors "publication project," a school-wide effort to

publish the writing of students, parents, and staff. We produce a bilingual publication, but we encourage the use of Spanish. Progress toward biliteracy, a goal of our "restoration model" bilingual program, has been painfully slow. Last year, we began sharing ownership and responsibility for producing the publication (which had grown enormously since its inception) with two fifth-grade classes and one bilingual special services class. The three teachers, another bilingual resource teacher, and I collaborate with approximately 50 students to produce a 100-page publication. First, we want to embed literacy instruction in the context of authentic work and genuine need in the community. Second, we try to enhance both the prestige and use of Spanish in classrooms.

Teachers and students experienced much success the first year. We expect the second year to be even better. Our student staff includes monolingual Spanish speakers, monolingual English speakers, and bilingual speakers. We have increased our daily time block for the publication project so that now we can incorporate writing, reading, literature studies, and the preparation of the publication into the period. We value both Spanish and English in our publication classroom and in the larger school community. As students participate, we believe they will maintain their language and culture and will stretch their views to be more inclusive. Besides speaking two languages, they will acquire subtleties of language usage in both Spanish and English.

My students continue to teach me about language, independence, responsibility, and personal standards of quality and engagement. In short, they teach me how to teach language with purpose. More than ever, I am grateful I began examining writing with students early in my teaching career. Writing has been my window into their lives, their use of language, and their capabilities. As a teacher reading and writing with children, their stories force me to learn, to hope, to resist, to celebrate from their perspectives.

I have always been a reflective practitioner and an avid student of teaching and learning. But as a teacher in bilingual settings and as a citizen of a bilingual community, I have also been a second-language learner. That role has taught me about students' experiences with language. Despite all my "As" in Spanish classes, my receptive skills are only fair, and my ability to use Spanish in real situations only limited. I attribute my progress in large part to my students and my colleagues. Unfortunately, my experience with formal Spanish classes was not unique; high school students frequently graduate with little or no ability to read or write in any language. Just as I had done as a second-language learner, they have filled in blanks, regurgitated, or manipulated short chunks of text, responded to questions with one- or two-word answers, and generally failed to interact with language in ways that stimulate new usage and understanding. Many students have kept language at a distance. As an enrollee in Spanish classes, I have watched my attitude get worse and my tendency to take language risks diminish. As a teacher, I have seen these same attitudes in children around me.

We professionals are changing our instructional practices with regard to literacy, while we change our teaching of culturally and linguistically diverse students. We are moving from an emphasis on roles, methods, and materials, to stress relationships between students and teachers, between students and their own language use, and between teachers and their professional practice. All teachers face the challenge of performing with knowledge, artistry, and respect for human dignity. As I watch this video, I am reminded that even a good critic—especially a good critic—views such challenges with compassion and respect for those who populate our schools.

When watching the videotape of Columbus, New Mexico, I focused on language usage by students and teachers, and on language practices promoted in classrooms. Teachers' beliefs about language learning lie at the heart of everything a teacher does in the classroom. When teachers act on their beliefs, we can begin to see why they behave as they do. I love observing bilingual classrooms to see how children and teachers function. The opportunity to observe colleagues occurs all too infrequently. The climate of isolation we experience as teachers has long limited our confidence, our learning, and our ability to reflect on our classroom practices. Teachers' reflections on their own practices are shaped by who they are and what they do. I wonder how willing we are to reshape our identities.

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Issues

The issues presented in this videotape are numerous and complex. First, there are issues of language and literacy instruction relative to bilingual education. In theory and practice, there are several models of bilingual education; all schools in bilingual communities must try to determine which model is most appropriate for attaining their particular goals and objectives. Carol Edelsky (1991) notes that educators must be aware of the power and politics of language usage in the community beyond the school. Thus, it is important for members of the community to be involved in determining the rationale, goals, and strategies for implementing a bilingual education program.

The ristra is the entry point for learning; it is not the destination.

Questions that might be addressed during such planning sessions include the following: What are the goals of language instruction? Is English literacy the end goal, or is biliteracy—preservation and extension of students' first language with the addition of literacy in a second language—the primary goal? How and when should students' two languages be used? Are both languages equally important? We hear Armijo, the principal, say there is some confusion among parents about the definition of a bilingual program. According to Armijo, in a true bilingual program, language learning is two-way, with Spanish speakers learning English, English speakers learning Spanish, and literacy skills in both languages being developed. I wonder how this philosophy is communicated to families and teachers, and how it is played out in classrooms.

In Leyba's classroom, Spanish as a first language is considered a bridge to success and to second-language understanding for students. I wonder if maintenance of Spanish is encouraged. Do children read, write, and converse in Spanish? Can they complete written assignments in either language? If literacy is a commodity, then biliteracy must be a doubly valuable commodity. There is increasing interest in maintaining children's first language while adding a second, and also in encouraging the development of bilingual literacy.

Although we teachers may find this an exciting and worthy end, some parents, both English- and Spanish-speaking, may disagree. As Armijo notes, parents may contend that English should be the sole focus of school instruction for social, economic, and political reasons. I believe we need to help our students become biliterate citizens, but the fine line between what our research or pedagogical knowledge tells us and the beliefs and goals of parents is a difficult line to walk. It may be one that Columbus teachers are walking carefully.

A second issue of interest is that of building a bicultural or multicultural curriculum and perspective. At Columbus School, children's cultural heritage is recognized through celebrations of holidays, such as Cinco de Mayo, and through such activities as making chile ristras. How might such events and activities be made more meaningful? The celebration of Cinco de Mayo is more than song and dance; it is about history, geography, and politics, as well. Creating ristras is probably a welcome active moment in the classroom, but I wonder about intended outcomes of the lesson. Is English-language instruction the primary goal? If so, what is the students' role in this process? Are children explaining or writing directions in their second language? Are they working in bilingual pairs to mediate the teacher's use of two languages? These children may well see ristras being made for their entire lives. The ristra is the entry point for learning; it is not the destination.

Does consideration of culture, history, and tradition go beyond superficial activities in this classroom? This is an issue with which we struggle in classrooms in Albuquerque. Multicultural education through song, dance, food, and celebrations has been a manageable beginning, and a respectable one. But it is only the first step that needs to be followed by explorations of the social, cultural, and political influences on children's lives and by examinations of curricular material from multiple perspectives.

There are also overarching questions about language instruction in this classroom that are not answered by the teaching or conversations on the video. For instance, how are reading and writing activities structured throughout the day? From my brief glimpse of this classroom, it would seem that language instruction is primarily atomistic, based on a parts-to-whole approach, largely teacher-directed, with students behaving as passive learners looking for a single right answer. On the videotape, we see spelling instruction, which is often the most difficult area of language development for teachers to deal with in holistic ways. My experience has been that the way we "do spelling" is usually influenced by (1) our overall beliefs about language learning and usage and/or (2) parents' and administrators' expectations. There may well be contradiction between these two factors. Spelling as rote, decontextualized vocabulary memorization may be the last "artifact" remaining when professional practice changes.

Having viewed instructional episodes in Leyba's classroom, then, I am left with many questions. What are the purposes for which children read, write, and speak, and what are the contexts in which they practice those skills in one or both languages? How are reading and writing assessed? Are students expected to develop proficiency in English and Spanish? Are they given opportunities to demonstrate their thinking skills and problem-solving strategies? In other words, in this classroom, how are reading, writing, and speaking used to help students make connections between old and new ways of thinking? These are critical issues all teachers must consider, whether their students are monolingual or multilingual, as teachers try to strike a balance among parental demands, the history of their own schooling, a changing student population, and the realities of classroom life.

The role of educational assistants or aides in a school community is also an interesting issue. I think of the role in terms of possibilities. I notice that while children in Leyba's classroom are sitting passively, speaking one at a time, the assistant is at her desk doing paperwork. I wonder how the delivery of instruction might be changed so the instructional assistant can work directly with students throughout the day. I also wonder if there are any barriers to such an arrangement. An additional adult in the classroom is too precious a commodity not to use in the most effective way possible.

Classroom aides are traditionally undervalued and underutilized (not to mention underpaid). When the assistant is willing and able, a more professional and active role seems appropriate. She or he might be invited into conversations about planning and instruction, encouraged to share reflections about teaching practices in the classroom, and valued for her or his perspective on students' progress. When the bilingual resource teacher is also in the classroom, students could work effectively with one another in adult-supported small groups that are heterogeneous in terms of students' language skills. Such an arrangement would allow students to be more actively engaged than they appear to be on the videotape. Seeing them during instruction reminds me of years of watching my own children sit patiently through baseball, soccer, and gymnastics practices, having only brief opportunities to practice skills or techniques.

Which brings me to the issue of the students' role in the classroom. There is much debate, particularly among bilingual educators, about the appropriateness of the transmission model of teaching and learning. Are children to sit quietly while new knowledge is directly transmitted to them by the teacher, or are they to be active participants in their own learning, constructing meaning from interactions with people and materials? There is growing agreement that learning is enhanced when students are social and active, but that consideration is not demonstrated in this videotape. Are there other times during the day when students are active participants in instruction? Do students have opportunities to work with one another? Are there chances for them to be thinkers and problem solvers?

The students' role in learning is linked to yet another issue—that of parental expectations and goals. As I have already mentioned, parents frequently have preconceived notions about what effective schooling "looks like." Often effective schools are defined in parents' minds by student behavior, with talking and movement in the classroom unacceptable—a consequence especially disconcerting for teachers who promote active learning. Parents just as frequently have ideas about appropriate and inappropriate curriculum.

Within any group of children, there will be variation in their parents' expectations for schools. Sometimes parental expectations vary both within and between cultures.

Early in the video, the principal mentions that there is some "confusion" among parents about the purpose of a bilingual program. He notes in particular that parents from Palomas are most interested in their children's acquisition of English-language skills. This confusion about offering early instruction in children's first language needs to be clarified. In addition, disagreement over goals of instruction may ultimately require negotiations between faculty and parents. Classroom teachers and school administrators continually face the challenge of mediating differing expectations.

The Columbus community is similar to other school communities in New Mexico in that it includes Hispanic citizens of the United States, Anglo citizens of the United States, and Mexican citizens from Palomas (most of whom have children who are U.S. citizens living in Mexico). In the video, we hear little about relationships among different parent groups in the community. The principal mentions that there is a "kind of family togetherness," because families frequently have relatives living on both sides of the border. I wonder if this situation alleviates tension over the question of fiscal responsibility for educating Columbus Elementary School students.

Funding is an issue in *all* communities as the cost of educating children increases and as student performance seems less in line with the general public's expectations. There is also increasing resistance among senior citizens to property tax increases earmarked for education, because "their children" are no longer a part of the school system. "Whose children are these?" then becomes an interesting question, as do issues of schools' goals relative to cultural and linguistic diversity in international and/or multicultural school settings. There is certainly an ironic twist to having a school community in which parents need a "pass" to come across the border to a parent-teacher conference. What will be the social and political reality that awaits their children when they graduate? Interestingly, shortly after I viewed this video for the first time, an article appeared in the *Albuquerque Journal*, our daily newspaper, about the possible creation of an international school district for children living in Columbus and Palomas. The school would be jointly funded by the United States and Mexico.

Teachers' Perspectives

Lynda Leyba, in her third year at this school, notes that she was invited to teach at Columbus specifically because of her ability to speak Spanish. Mario Vasquez, the bilingual resource teacher, relates the story of his parents' move from Mexico. Both express personal, cultural, and/or linguistic connections with the children and the school community. Both seem enthusiastic about their jobs and willing to share their teaching publicly so others might think critically about education. This is an enormous risk for teachers, and to me, an indication oftheir commitment to their students and community, their own teaching practice, and the teaching practices of the profession as a whole. I applaud their courage.

Leyba's understanding and use of Spanish make her a potential ally of Spanish-speaking students in the classroom. As she notes in her reflections, Leyba uses Spanish as a bridge to English as a second language for her students. My sense is that she uses her Spanish as one modification of classroom practices that are largely mainstream and teacher-centered. I wonder if she has considered other modifications. It was interesting to note her reluctance to work with the Spanish-speaking students as readers, despite her fluency with oral Spanish. Her apparent lack of confidence is not uncommon among teachers who grew up speaking Spanish. Many Spanish-speaking teachers have little experience with written Spanish; others may simply feel insecure with their oral Spanish, because it does not match formal or textbook Spanish. If teachers lack confidence in their language skills, it is in part because we have ignored the realities of language usage and valued one form (even within languages) over another. A better approach would be to help language users practice in different language situations.

In Leyba's classroom, vocabulary lists studied and practiced without context may reveal some of her beliefs about language development. As mentioned previously, the instruction we view suggests an atomistic, or parts-to-whole skills approach to

language, with little (or very controlled) application until all parts are "mastered." Students are largely passive, responding only when questioned directly, and then with a "right" answer. Instruction and interactions appear teacher-directed and controlled. Leyba also seems to rely solely on existing texts, indicating she is unable to integrate Spanish into the curriculum. Yet Leyba and her students have a wealth of personal experiences on which they might build a curriculum pertinent to students' lives.

I strongly suspect that parental expectations affect some or many of Leyba's instructional decisions, and rightfully so. I keep coming back to the tension between the principal's definition of an ideal bilingual program and the parents' decision to send their children to Columbus "for them to learn English, period." (This tension is also evident in conversations about bilingual education at my own school.) I wonder if parents, teachers, and administrators have reached consensus on goals and objectives for language instruction at Columbus Elementary. Leyba says she was hired because she speaks Spanish, and administrators thought she could help the students. She does not say, however, what it is she is supposed to help students do. Is the primary goal to teach students English? Is Leyba to extend both languages so students become biliterate? The video provides no clue, and I wonder if the answers are present in the classroom and the larger school community. What we are learning in our own schools is that the extension of Spanish language literacy requires promotion and active support to be successful.

I also have questions about Vasquez's role as the bilingual resource teacher at Columbus School. Does he try to maintain students' Spanish, while introducing and developing their English skills? Or is his goal simply to teach Spanish to passive bilingual and monolingual speakers? He says that he does "whatever the teacher needs me to do." He has an obvious commitment to utilizing the students' cultural heritages, which is an excellent way to relate personally to students and to connect content to their prior knowledge. I wonder, however, if students' knowledge is being explored to its fullest. When teachers use familiar experiences or objects, such as the chiles, to make intellectual connections, they typically do so to stretch student understanding, not to set limits on what is to be learned.

My hunch is that Leyba and Vasquez (like all of us to some degree) teach as they were taught. Perhaps they assume techniques that worked for them as Spanish speakers in a predominantly English-speaking school system will work for Columbus students. To be sure, their respect for students, and their good intentions are evident. Leyba has added spoken Spanish to the curriculum, a luxury she may or may not have experienced as a student in northern New Mexico schools. She also tries to motivate students with words of encouragement: "These are not hard words, okay?" But without reflecting on and modifying old practices, "the way it has always been" will not work for all of her students. Some students will succeed because of or in spite of our actions. Others will fail. Words meant to encourage, such as those noted above, suggest that if students find the vocabulary words difficult, they are in trouble. Sometimes the simplest statements carry both intended and unintended meanings. Children learn continually, but they do not necessarily learn what we think we are teaching.

Parents' Perspectives

We are told early in the videotape that parents from Palomas are wonderful and supportive, but we do not know if they have discussed their hopes and educational goals for their children. (No doubt some have done so, because parent participation in planning bilingual programs is a state requirement.) Leyba says that parents' first two questions are usually about their children's progress in English and about their behavior. By sending their children across the border, parents express optimism about educational opportunities in the United States. We can assume they also believe their children's futures will be enhanced by attending U.S. schools. Whether parents hope their children will complete their education and return to Mexico, or whether they assume their children will remain in the United States, we do not know. My parental instincts make me curious. Parents' comments to Leyba regarding children's English language skills and behavior most likely influence what happens in her classroom. If I knew parents of my students had such goals, I would work to achieve them. However, I would also explain to parents the importance of using Spanish in the classroom to enhance both

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general learning and English language acquisition. I would work to convince parents and students of the importance of developing and maintaining bilingualism. To do so, I would need to communicate often with parents.

As teachers on the video note, cultural events such as Cinco de Mayo offer opportunities for dialogue with parents; they also offer parents a natural entree to the school. Many parents remember their own negative educational experiences when they return to school as parents. Those who did not complete school, or who do not speak the dominant language of the school, may be particularly uncomfortable. Teachers can counter such feelings by engaging parents as partners in the education of their children, encouraging parents to participate in classroom and whole-school activities. Technology may be an excellent bridge to parent partnerships in this community. I notice parents who participate in the evening computer classes do so with intensity and enthusiasm—this is an exciting partnership. I wonder if these parents are from both sides of the border. I am also curious about their motivations for attending and about the stated purposes of computer sessions. If this kind of commitment is reflected in their support of their children as learners, this is indeed a fortunate community .

Technology may be an excellent bridge to parent partnerships in this community.

Do parents on either side of the border think about education in different ways? Do their goals and expectations vary? I question comments made by one member of the resource team who suggests U.S. parents (Hispanic and Anglo) push their children to excel and to be college bound, while parents of children from Mexico are satisfied with just enough learning to get a job. Such generalizations are quite dangerous, for they can prompt teachers to hold unnecessarily high or low expectations for different groups of students.

Students' Perspectives

Classroom life, as portrayed in the video, seems fairly passive and perhaps tedious. I wonder what it would be like to be a student in this classroom, day-in and day-out. Are students aware of parents' strong desires for them to learn English? If approximately 95 percent of the students speak Spanish, how many are bilingual, and how many are monolingual Spanish speakers? How does the Spanish of the bilingual American students differ from the Spanish of the Mexican students, and how are such differences explored in the classroom? I am reminded of the teachers in Shirley Brice Heath's *Ways With Words* who turned their second graders into ethnographers of language in their own communities!

I wonder what differences, if any, the teacher perceives in students from the United States and from Mexico, and I wonder how she acts on these perceptions. Do students understand their teacher's expectations? Children sit in clusters, but we do not know if interactions between and among students are encouraged. Peer interaction can strengthen language learning; sometimes this interaction happens all day, sometimes only at recess. I wonder about peer relationships, both in the classroom and on the playground. Do friendships form across borders of language and community? For example, Maria Reyes, Eloise Laliberty, and Judith Orbanosky (1993) studied social relationships in a dual language acquisition fourth-grade classroom with interesting results. They found that language learning occurred in both directions (Spanish to English, and vice versa). They also learned that social interactions inside and outside classrooms extended across cultural boundaries. Does the physical distance of the students from Palomas limit relationships in ways that carry over into the Columbus classroom? What sorts of peer collaborations are encouraged in this classroom?

Do students perceive the classroom and the learning that occurs there as their own, something for which they share responsibility and reward? How is the literacy developed at home different from literacy experiences at school—not just in language spoken, but in usages, traditions, relationships? Do students think they should be

independent thinkers who make choices, or do they think they should wait and see what the teacher wants? Is risk-taking encouraged or discouraged? Do students believe there are many ways to view the same problem, or do they think there is only one right way to do so?

Educational Assistant's Perspective

The assistant in the teaching segment is absorbed with paperwork. I realize, of course, that she may not have wanted to teach while the cameras were rolling. I wonder, however, if she is an active teaching professional in the classroom, collaborating on planning and instruction, and perhaps serving as an additional linguistic and cultural resource for the teacher and students. Lynda Leyba notes that the instructional assistant takes responsibility for reading instruction offered in Spanish. This would be a tremendous opportunity to connect reading to other curricular themes and concepts throughout the day, as well as to build on cultural and linguistic perspectives of children. Such sessions could be particularly beneficial to students if Leyba and her aide work directly with children whenever possible (and perhaps they do). Most educational assistants with whom I have worked prefer active teaching and collaboration to clerical work. Many use the role as a vehicle for further education and/or as an avenue into the teaching profession.

I wonder if paraprofessionals at Columbus help shape their roles within the school, and whether they have opportunities for professional development. Assistants are often bilingual adults (in our community and perhaps this one, there are more bilingual assistants than teachers), and they are frequently linguistic resources, role models, and strong advocates for bilingual or monolingual Spanish- speaking children. These attributes give them status as experts within the school community. Unfortunately, that status is often out of sync with the realities of their jobs.

Does the role of educational assistant need to be elevated?

Does the role of educational assistant need to be elevated? Would English-speaking assistants (and teachers) be interested in on-site Spanish language classes? Might Spanish-speaking assistants and teachers be interested in classes to develop their written Spanish? Could Spanish-speaking assistants be supported in obtaining university degrees and teaching certificates? Might programs be developed to allow them to do much of their coursework on the job, so they do not lose income while working toward a degree? Although all educational assistants might not choose this career path, some certainly probably would, given the opportunity. This is one way to recruit more Spanish-speaking teachers from the surrounding community, individuals who know the schools and are committed to being there.

Parenthetically, monolingual English-speaking teachers at bilingual schools often fear they will be replaced by Spanish-speaking teachers. While school faculties need diversity, they also need the language resources to support students. Teachers' fears need to be addressed. Teachers must be supported to pursue professional activities that will allow them to revise their teaching in response to changing demands and diverse student populations. English-speaking teachers and assistants can and do acquire necessary philosophies, strategies, and sensitivities to support diverse language learners, but it takes active professional reflection and learning to do so.

As classrooms in our state become increasingly multilingual, rather than bilingual, we must develop abilities to teach students with whom we do not share a common language. A Spanish-English bilingual model has been appropriate for many of our communities, and we have had the luxury of immersing communities in two languages. There have been students, however, whose language needs have not been met or even acknowledged by such programs. Native Americans come immediately to mind. Meanwhile, some schools in Albuquerque grow linguistically diverse, and educators strive to support students who bring 10

to 20 different languages to their school communities.

Educational assistants work under interesting circumstances. Classroom teachers define much of their authority as well as the breadth of their roles. Sometimes the definitions exist as implicit in traditions within the school community and the community at large. Assistants are often underused, undervalued, and like the rest of us, underpaid.

Professional Knowledge

I learn most about students from their writing and reading. Students as language learners demonstrate engagement and success through reading and writing. Writing—and all language use—is a tangible expression of the diverse views, experiences, strengths, and cultural frameworks students bring to classrooms. Writing both shapes thinking and is shaped by it.

Teachers' language use demonstrates their beliefs and attitudes. As someone whose professional practice is evolving, I also learn about teachers most clearly from their literacy perspectives. I would like to know what reading, writing, listening, and talking occur during the rest of the day in Leyba's classroom. That would help me understand Lynda Leyba's beliefs about literacy and about teacher and student roles. I wonder how she organizes time, instruction, and the physical environment; how she assesses student learning; and how she thinks about and uses language(s) in her own life.

Writing with students has helped me stop transmitting knowledge to passive students and instead help students actively construct or produce knowledge through writing. I know from my experiences both as a teacher and a second-language learner, that being a passive learner is counterproductive. As teachers, we are constantly learning from our students and peers, from our families and communities, from our classroom practice, and from all the professional resources with which we come into contact. In doing so, we actively seek new information and experience, reflect, and revise our understandings accordingly.

Learning is social. Vygotsky emphasized that learning is always mediated by others, and that these interactions are mediated, as well, by language (Moll, 1989). Learning is stimulated, then, by interactions between peers, between learners and teachers, and between learners and the environment. Peer interactions are critical to children's first- and second-language learning. Simply filling in blanks or taking spelling tests will not facilitate language acquisition; students need to talk with and listen to others who speak a second language. These verbal exchanges need to occur in the school yard as well as in the classroom.

As they work with students and observe them in action, teachers get some sense of children's experiences, skills, attitudes, and interests as language learners. To me, our role as teachers is to try to understand children's levels of development and to build on their existing strengths. When teachers involve students in reading and writing, teachers have opportunities to become learners themselves. Literature study groups, collaborative group discussions, partner activities such as peer response, and research groups enhance students' and teachers' language understanding. The energy of such social interactions can facilitate learning.

Reading and writing are means to ends, not ends in themselves. Typically educators do not treat them as such. Students want to learn and maintain a language so they can use it with others—so they can communicate. Teachers are most likely to succeed when they realize students need reasons for learning a language. Successful teaching capitalizes on students' needs and interests.

Students need to be reading and writing every day in either their first or second language, or in both. They should be encouraged to select topics and texts or to negotiate them with the teacher. Students must also be active partners in determining the "ends" of instruction. Reading and writing are means for thinking, for communicating, and for getting things done in school and in the world beyond the classroom. A wealth of authentic purposes exists for student-initiated and controlled writing, in which learners are supported throughout by "a" rather than "the" writing process. Teachers support students' efforts by teaching the writer, not the writing. They do so by establishing routines, by creating learning situations rich in context, and by offering assistance to learners. Teachers also help students learn to interact with others, to further their own learning, to collaborate, to negotiate, to solve problems, and to live together.

As Dorothy Strickland (1994) notes, real writing

and reading with children keep instruction "as close to the point of use as possible." Direct instruction to an individual, small, or whole group' on a specific task or problem encourages learning that will be remembered and used. Direct instruction helps make explicit "the how and why" of particular activities. The value of direct instruction has all too often been overlooked in the trendiness (or plain confusion) of writing instruction.

Direct instruction is most effective when used in the context of a student's ongoing writing and reading, so that instruction is timely, appropriate, individualized, and immediately applicable—characteristics which increase the chances of what we teach being learned and applied. Regie Routman (1991) suggests student learning remains a skill until students know how and when to use knowledge appropriately and independently. Through thoughtful and focused instruction, combined with extensive reading and frequent response from varied audiences, students can develop a repertoire of useful learning strategies.

We need to engage students by talking with them about how we think and speak and write.

We teachers must model for students both our implicit and explicit problem-solving strategies. When we wrestle with problems or new situations in reading, writing, and math, we must remember to make public our "behind the scenes" thinking. Children's chances for becoming critical thinkers increase when we model problem posing and problem solving. We need to engage students by talking with them about how we think and speak and write. Talk helps students understand what they see and hear.

My professional growth depends on my ability to reflect on my own practice. How do I think about my teaching? Why do I do what I do? What works or does not work, and why ? What is my role as a classroom teacher? How and what do my students think about my teaching? These and other questions, and their answers, force me to think about my teaching. My reflections inform my efforts to develop a community of engaged and enthusiastic learners.

Teaching Focus

Teaching at Columbus Elementary would be an exciting challenge. Before going into a classroom, however, I would want more information. In the videotape, the principal indicates that the goalof the school is two-way language acquisition, with monolingual Spanish speakers learning English and monolingual English speakers learning Spanish. Another goal might be to encourage English-dominant speakers who are passive Spanish speakers to employ their Spanish skills. I would discuss this possibility with the principal. I would also try to learn more about parental expectations. Do parents view English literacy and Spanish literacy as valuable and compatible goals, or are they primarily concerned with English-language development ?

This is not an issue unique to Columbus, but one with which we wrestle in many schools and communities. Sometimes we can improve understanding simply through discussion and clarification of program goals. In doing so, we need to consider parental concerns. Students' first language is a cognitive bridge to academic learning and to second-language literacy. At the same time, English language development is a required component of governmentally funded bilingual programs and a critical goal for all students. For some parents, whether we agree with them or not, attainment of English-language skills is also viewed as the only legitimate end to bilingual education.

Staff members at Columbus Elementary School articulate beliefs about respect for the language and cultural characteristics students bring to school. How do teachers demonstrate those beliefs when planning for and implementing instruction? If I were at Columbus School, I would want to become part of a collaborative teaching network that studies the community, the role of bilingualism in daily life, students' prior experiences, community members' thoughts about literacy, community resources, and effective teaching settings and strategies.

I would try to think of ways to communicate with colleagues in my building. I would also encourage efforts to collaborate with teachers at other schools in the district. Are there mechanisms that would enable us to enhance our communication? Is knowledge gained through networking linked with pedagogical knowledge and actually applied to help students of all ages?

In my own classroom, I would collaborate with the teaching assistant to develop an instructional role that fit his or her professional goals and that provided greatest benefit to students. Together, we could plan how she might use the greater part of the day as a Spanish speaker to facilitate instruction. A Spanish speaker in the classroom would add value to language instruction in the eyes of the community. A Spanish-speaking assistant who routinely demonstrated her skills would encourage students, even the passive bilingual and monolingual English-speaking ones, to use Spanish.

My teaching assistant and I would hold a lot of small-group conferences and conduct one-on-one teaching. Our classroom would be a place where reading and writing are the hub of the curriculum, providing support children could use to explore a variety of content areas, for a multitude of purposes. We would encourage students to think about reading and writing as means to many ends—ends they might well define for themselves. This would call for an environment shaped by active and independent usage, full of environmental print in two languages, resource materials in two languages, student-prepared texts and work around the room, and a variety of supplies. A reliance on texts (in Spanish or English) would diminish as students and teachers worked together to produce print materials for learning and teaching in two languages.

Actions and Consequences

In creating my own classroom at the Columbus school, then, my first thoughts would be about reading and writing. What purposes might reading and writing serve? How might students share in decisionmaking about those purposes? How might reading and writing support our learning about a wide range of topics? How might we find a diverse audience (both Spanish and English speakers) to lend credibility to our efforts and to help us refine our products?

I would establish writing and reading workshops to provide the structure, routine, and expectation of daily reading and writing times, peer conferencing, teacher conferencing with individuals and small groups, direct literacy instruction to individuals and groups, and opportunities to connect with audiences within and beyond the classroom. Instruction would focus on students' needs and abilities and be supported by interactions with both peers and adults. Conversations between and among teachers and students would allow us to explore connections students are making, motivations that drive their actions, and strategies and knowledge they call up as they work in the classroom.

These opportunities for interaction with others are a critical feature of the classroom. Though there are reading, writing, and thinking times in the day when students work quietly on their own, there are also times when collaborating with others drives and extends students' questioning, exploration, problem solving, and ability to function productively as a group in a diverse and demanding world. To facilitate interactions, I would place students in heterogeneous language groups. Printed materials in the classroom would be bilingual, purposeful, and reflective of students' needs, accomplishments, thinking, and work in progress. Our room, then, would be rich in resources for students. And learning how to live in that environment would take time and instruction.

Our reading, both as individuals and as a class, would focus on quality multicultural literature from around the world as well as close to home. I think this literature can serve a key role in helping us transform curriculum—holding it up and examining it from others' perspectives. At the same time, students would learn that who we are and where we live influence how we perceive events around us. Our reading would include informational books, as well, which could support development of student-made materials (in Spanish and English) across the curriculum.

Assessment of student progress would occur as my teaching assistant and I interacted with readers and writers. Work in progress, for example, could inform us about students' strengths and weaknesses. Editing conferences with students would

provide the perfect opportunity for individualized, direct instruction in language mechanics pertinent to students' needs. These conferences could offer insight into students' critical thinking that we would never see reflected in spelling tests and worksheet pages. Documentation of such conferences would provide a running narrative of student progress that can be shared with students and parents alike. Students would be involved in assessment in the classroom. Students' skills of analysis and self-evaluation, and of critical appraisal of writing process and product, are essential to their future success and to our efforts to engage them as participants in their own learning.

Assessment in this classroom would take place in both of a student's languages, so strengths and weaknesses in each could inform the other. Work in a student's second language could only be appropriately—and fairly—considered in the context of work in his or her first language. We would not appreciate our students' capabilities, their risk-taking and their growth, or the way two languages influence each other, unless we examined work in both languages.

With a shared commitment on the part of families, administrators, and other teachers in the school, our classroom would be one which valued and used Spanish and English equally. Those learning English would still learn English, because usage in the larger school community and in the world outside school demands it. Those working to add Spanish to their language repertoire would have more difficulty, because Spanish is neither so visible nor the demands to learn it so pressing. Those students who would add Spanish can already make do in the world, and that security inhibits learning of a second language. If they are fortunate, they would have Spanish-speaking relatives who could support their learning. Even without a shared school-community commitment for maintaining and extending Spanish literacy, I would still be obligated to value and respect students' first language. I would try to do so by using it as a bridge to learning, by recognizing how language shapes learners and literacy, and by assessing in two languages.

I would use resources within the school to help me consider how culturally relevant material might be incorporated into educational themes. Making *ristras* could be a starting place, but where would we go from there? (There may have been language specific goals attached to Vasquez's lesson, but I was unsure.) How might a *matanza* serve as the basis for cross-curricular study? Obviously the woman who mentioned a *matanza* thought a culturally sensitive teacher should be able to expand on what the child brought to school. How might a *matanza* be an integral part of a unit focused on community, harvest, or seasonal growth cycles? How might examining such an event connect the children as learners to their families and communities? Could teachers initiate book making (from many perspectives, in many genres), interviews or oral histories, comparative studies of *matanzas* elsewhere in the Americas? How might students go beyond traditions to use the community for curricular research and learning?

Students will need all the knowledge and know-how we can offer—in more than one language.

Seeing the parents in the computer lab reminds me that technology would have to be a critical part of this classroom. Lack of adequate technological resources is just one way that our schools are inconsistent with the world for which we claim to prepare our children. Classroom computers would serve as a learning tools for students, as well as bridges to parent participation. I wonder if electronic mail might connect these students with interesting, multilingual people around the state, country, and world.

What an interesting awareness of the world beyond computers might bring to this classroom in a small town in New Mexico. And perhaps ultimately, with hard work and all the resources our profession can bring to bear, this classroom just might prepare its students for the challenging world beyond its walls. Students will need all the knowledge and know-how we can offer—in more than one language.

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Conclusion

For me, the bottom line is to imagine what student-centered, process-oriented teaching and learning might look like in this particular classroom, school, and community. How will students learn what it means to be active, independent, and responsible problem posers and problem solvers—people who learn how to learn? What will enable them to work and live within diverse communities and to value their unique and shared cultures? How will the teacher be continually informed by students, families, peers, and his or her own professional experience? How will the teacher balance work in and toward two languages, learning to be increasingly sensitive to what each child brings in terms of language usage and capabilities? Responses to these questions must be framed knowing people beyond the classroom walls may value bilingualism, but (loudly and clearly) speak English.

There are issues of bilingual education here, but thoughtful instruction will embrace those—learn from them—and move beyond to focus on students as individuals, knowing that diversity within cultures is as great as that between cultures. Our teaching ultimately must serve one student, one human being, at a time. Steven Gelb (1991) calls not for paradigms, but for "intellectual humility and social activism," for continuing to learn, to listen, and to serve. As for my perspective in critiquing this video, I acknowledge that teaching is always easier standing on the outside looking in and always harder than it looks from that outside view. The best we can do as educators is to get in the picture; that is, to teach and learn to the best of our abilities, thus offering a positive model for our students.

For those of us in New Mexico, as elsewhere around the nation, diversity, multiculturalism, and bilingual education are not just fashionable buzz words, they are ways of describing reality. Working with students and peers from other cultures, backgrounds, life experiences, will present tremendous challenges, both personally and professionally. But the possibilities of what we might accomplish together are limitless. As Guadalupe Valdes (1992) says, "Tomorrow's mainstream student group will be made up of what we consider today to be 'diverse' students." We are both challenged and privileged to work with these students to find respectful and productive ways of learning and teaching. We must start now for the sake of all our students.

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Critical Perspective III on the Case:

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My most vivid memory of being born and raised in Brooklyn, New York was our backyard. It abutted the subway tracks and every 3 or 4 minutes a train would pass. This taught me the lessons of behavioral conditioning early and well. No one in my family even noticed that every few minutes we couldn't hear the radio, or each other, or a telephone voice, or that everything jiggled.

My father was a carpenter, my mother a seamstress. I was the youngest of three children. I attended school prior, during, and after World War II, graduating from James Madison High School with 1,200 others in 1949. (The school had 5,500 students.) My college career was also in the neighborhood. I was graduated from Brooklyn College with a major in sociology at age 20.

I was fortunate to have attended college with the returning World War II veterans. They wanted to learn as much as possible and created a stimulating atmosphere. All forms of scholarship were expected to explain the problems of living. There were no professional schools at that time. We all thought we were in college to learn stuff and that getting a job was a personal matter and not a reason for academic study. The quality of students and faculty made Brooklyn College my first significant educational experience. It firmly implanted in me the conception that undergraduate study is to learn eternal verities and not to get a better job. This experience explains why I have been out of step with public higher education, its faculty, and students.

My working career began at age 13 and moved me through delivery boy, stock clerk, usher, store clerk, and musician. During my college years, I worked 54 hours per week while carrying an overload of college courses. I bought into the work ethic early and have never been able to shake it.

At 20, I was married and after a few months moved to Greenwich Village in Manhattan where we lived for the next 4½ years. This move radically changed my life and was my second significant educational experience. My neighbors and associates were no longer the parochial, narrow ethnic groups of Brooklyn but individuals of all classes, religions, races, sexual preferences, languages, and ethnic groups who had come to Manhattan from all over the world.

For the next four years, I was engaged in three related activities. First, I was exploring careers. These included working for the Department of Welfare, selling liquor, and doing statistical analyses. Second, I concurrently attended New York University part time, completing a master's degree in sociology. Third, I was drafted into the military on three separate occasions only to be sent home—twice for physical ailments and once for being a university student. Each of these call-ups forced me to give up a job and have a going-away party. This in turn led me to be embarrassed about being rejected so that each call-up resulted in my starting a new career.

These activities kept me occupied until age 25 when I entered teaching. I pursued a second master's degree at Teachers College, Columbia University and taught second, fourth, and sixth grades. I also taught 4-year-olds for two summers at a day camp. These experiences led me to seek a doctorate in education again at Teachers College, where I was fortunate to work with Florence B. Stratemeyer as my major adviser. For three years full time, I was able to live in Morningside Heights and supervise student teachers in the Harlem public schools. It was during this period that my personal, work, and educational experiences jelled, and I realized that my life's work would be preparing teachers for urban schools serving children and youth in poverty.

After completing my doctorate, I came to the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee where I have

remained for more than 30 years. For 11 years, I also served as a dean of urban outreach trying to help the university address urban problems through research and service. My current role is as a professor of curriculum and instruction.

It is quite likely that over the years I have developed more teacher education programs than anyone (or any institution) in history. Some have been notable failures from which I learned what not to do. Most have been highly successful. The National Teacher Corps was my model and brought approximately 100,000 teachers into urban schools. In recent years, I have developed alternative certification programs for attracting more minorities into teaching and for resolving the continuing shortage for teachers for poverty schools by recruiting new constituencies into teaching. My interview for selecting successful urban teachers is used in cities throughout the country.

My work has led me to believe that teaching children and youth in poverty is significantly different from teaching advantaged students in several ways. First, it requires the careful selection of individuals who do not resemble traditional profiles of undergraduate teacher education students. Second, teaching children in poverty requires on-the-job training with the help of experienced mentor teachers. Third, this teaching should carry a special form of state license. Most important of all, successful teachers of children and youth in poverty share an ideology. This is a set of beliefs and commitments which guide their behaviors inside and outside of classrooms. While this ideology is learned, not innate, it is not the result of coursework but of integrated life experiences which include much more than formal education. For this reason, selection is more important than training; given the right people, on-the-job training will occur naturally with the help of mentors, parents, and children.

I am pleased and grateful that I have been able to devote my career to getting better teachers for large numbers of children and youth in poverty. I am continually amazed that the number of "experts" who understand that getting better teachers is the heart of the matter remains so small. I suppose they don't see it as a major solution, because it is so inexpensive, or, perhaps they simply don't know how to do it.

I feel extremely fortunate to be able to pursue a career in which my learning and growth continually increase and where my efforts seem to have some redeeming social significance. I can't explain how it all happened to me except to guess that my educational experiences combined with my life experiences in such a way that sparks were set off.

What is the Problem?

> Why are present schools in such turmoil? They did a great job of educating hordes of immigrants who were penniless and lacking in basic English. What's the problem with minorities today that they can't benefit from schools and use education to work their way up in the same way all the other groups did?

Mythology dies hard. It dies especially slowly when every extended white family in America can give examples of immigrant members of their families who "made it" by doing well in school. People generalize from such personal examples and thereby ignore much of the reality of how effective schools really were in former times, and the extent to which they actually served various immigrant constituencies.

Among the various European white ethnics who came to America some groups were well served, such as those who came from urban areas, from professional backgrounds, Jews, the first wave of Germans (pre-Civil War), and others. Other immigrant groups were ill-served; for example, those from rural backgrounds, southern Europeans, and Catholics. Further, within each of these culture groups, there were also wide variations. Some individuals in every group used the schools to become well-educated professionals, business people, or scholars, while others of the same ethnic background were pushouts, dropouts, or never attended public schools. Just a few of the generalizations that might be made about the public education offered the 30 million white, European ethnics who arrived between 1890 and 1920 include the following: there were few programs for children with handicapping conditions; transportation, health, psychological, social welfare, and food services were not provided; no meaning-

ful parental involvement was sought; class size in many schools averaged between 60-100—and in places like Brooklyn class size sometimes reached 150; space was minimal with many children (a majority in some districts) sharing seats and desks; there were almost no indoor gymnasiums, science laboratories or libraries; there was little or no audiovisual equipment since this era preceded even radio and inexpensive photography; and few if any textbooks. The curriculum was limited to basic skills; subjects were taught by rote, group chanting, and copying. There was no real curriculum in science, little vocational education (until 1916), no music other than choral singing of English hymns and folk songs. Foreign languages were not offered and were, in fact, stamped out. Reading was taught by unison chanting and spelling by oral recitation. Bible reading (from the King James version) was offered to predominantly non-Protestant youngsters, accompanied by daily psalm singing. Teachers were mostly high school graduates; some had one or two years of normal school training. Supervision came from principals or superintendents who showed up and listened to group recitations of the brightest children answering low-level questions. The average teacher earned less than $800 per year with no fringe benefits or retirement. Few, if any, blacks were in these schools. Chicago reported a school for "colored" children during World War I, and Atlanta opened its first "colored" high school in 1924. The curriculum included little about blacks or Native Americans or Hispanics except the most condescending trivia. Women were also invisible in the curriculum. The constitutional amendment granting women suffrage did not pass until the mass of immigration was already over. Not only were women "protected" from science, math, and every advanced study leading to higher education, they were specifically tracked into summer programs and vocational training devoted to mastering millinery, sewing, and home economics. Because teaching did not require any higher education women were guided into that option as well.

Mainstreaming was not a problem because most "cripples" were not in schools. Also, because childhood diseases were not yet prevented by widespread inoculation or vaccination, many normal children actually contracted fatal or serious diseases by attending these schools.

In sum, the contention that the schools used to be good before they were spoiled by current immigrants is simply not true. The contention that the schools helped former immigrants is partially accurate for some groups but much less so for others. Finally, "the problem" has always divided analysts into two groups: those who attribute failure to inadequacies in children and those who attribute failure to the school program and its educators. The former approach leads to maintaining schools as they exist and changing the children. It contends that these children should not be in our schools until they are ready to learn; what constitutes "ready" is defined in ways which, in effect, reject the children, their families, and their cultures. The latter approach leads to changing schools because there are always better ways to organize curricula and more effective ways to teach.

This analysis is predicated on the latter assumption; that the children are to be accepted and enhanced and that what we need to implement is the most appropriate curriculum and the most effective instruction. The criteria we use to define "appropriate" and "effective" are the focus of this paper.

What Are Schools Supposed to Accomplish in a Multicultural Society?

To realize educational health for all our people, we need to conceive of three levels or types of achievement.

Table 1.
Levels of Learning Required for Participation in a Multicultural American Society

	Level I Individual Level	Level II Culture Group Learnings	Level III Societal Learnings
Need	IDENTITY	SECURITY	POWER
Basic Question	Who am I?	Where do I come from?	What can I do?
Content of Learning	Talents, interests, individual proclivities	Language, culture, religion, mores of culture group	Standard English, citizenship, basic American values, ability to function in society, jobs, and careers
Primary Place of Learning	The full range of societal institutions and media including schools	Family, community, church, subgroup institutions, supported by schools	Schools, supported by home and other institutions and media
Criteria of Evaluation	Self-fulfillment	Recognition by significant others in culture group.	Success in larger society
Role of Teachers in Public	Provision of continuing opportunities for developing individual differences. Enhancement of personal talents.	Knowledge and acceptance of cultural diversity. Sensitivity and awareness of possible intrusions on learning. Use of strengths of particular culture groups.	The common core of learning needed by all Americans

Level I

These learnings refer to individual talents, interests, abilities, and predispositions that include all the opportunities for enhancing individual differences which schools might support. On this level, the school, in effect, makes children and youth more different and diverse because each student has particular, even unique, qualities which can be cultivated and enhanced. These learnings refer to the question of identity. "Who am I?" The way to deal with this issue of identity is to develop each student's interests, skills, and talents. Hopefully, more of these personal development-type learnings will be offered in schools.

Level II

These learnings refer to all the things people learn to gain security and connectedness in order to answer the question, "Where do I come from?" These learnings refer to one's culture group. This group may be an ethnic, racial, language, religious, or other form of culture group. Children are socialized to be Greek-Americans, African-Americans, Hispanics, or members of any particular group by their schools and by their families and communities. Through multicultural programs,

students can be taught the knowledge, skills, behaviors, and values of the group in which they are rooted, as well as those of other groups which make up our society.

Level III

These learnings refer to all the knowledge, skills, behaviors, and values taught to be successful in the general American society. These studies include the traditional subjects, standard English, and the patterns of behavior generally described as American, including those needed to perform a job and function as a citizen.

On the basis of this formulation, students are educationally healthy when they have been to schools which prepare them to function successfully on three levels: as individuals, as members of a particular culture group, and as productive citizens who can succeed or at least function in the larger society. The question of self-efficacy (What can I do?) is generally answered by Level III learnings related to earning a living, participating in civic affairs, and living as a law-abiding, contributing, community member. The needs for connectedness and self-esteem are met by Level II learnings where one learns about his or her culture group and the groups of other students. The Level I learnings reflect the wide range of personal achievements that distinguish individuals in terms of their peculiar talents and particular interests.

How Would We Know an American School is Doing a Good Job?

By emphasizing all three levels of learning as a requirement of public education, I am stressing the uniqueness of American society. There is no other free country in which the individual, cultural diversity, and general national goals are all espoused simultaneously. In the rest of the world, ethnicity is made synonymous with nationhood. Even in England and Canada, there are active secessionist movements. Apparently, there is not a universal ability to conceive of ways for people to learn to function simultaneously on all three levels. Our nation is engaged in an educational experiment that is unique among the nations of the world: the commitment to a general common good, the enhancement of culture groups within that larger society and the personal development of individuals who can function both as members of a particular culture group and as successful contributors to the larger American society.

The criteria we use to determine how well a school is doing are all substitutes for how the graduates of that school will live out their lives. Because we cannot suspend judgments about a school until we can follow up with the children and actually see what they will do as grown-ups, we use criteria that can be applied to the children now and assume that the behaviors we assess now will continue in later life. If children demonstrate they know and can behave in certain ways now, they may or may not choose to implement those learnings; if they cannot demonstrate learnings, they have no choice about implementation.

To assess a school on Level I learnings in the long-term, we would need measures of self-fulfillment. In the short term, however, there are several things that can be assessed.

School-wide

(1) What choices are provided for individuals in the school curriculum? Do students participate in the same classes or studies for equal lengths of time, or, are there school-wide provisions for individual differences based on the expectation that groups will always have some individuals who need less (more) time than others?

(2) What choices are provided for different students to learn different things? Differentiating for learning rates is only the first step. There should also be opportunities for individuals to go into greater depth or into related studies.

(3) Does the school manage its calendar and daily schedule in a way which reflects that differential learning rates of differential contents is a normal expectation?

(4) How does the school identify children with particular talents, abilities, and interests? Are there any expectations, on the school-wide level, that identifying and enhancing individual proclivities is a vital part of the school's mission?

These four questions are directed at the opportunities the school affords all its children, not only those identified as having handicapping conditions or being "gifted."

In Classrooms

(1) Do teachers' classroom programs reflect different levels of learning and different time rates devoted to the study of various subjects?
(2) Do teachers' classroom programs reflect provisions for children to move ahead or into enrichment activities on their own?
(3) Do classrooms have different materials available to children which will enable them to pursue a variety of subjects beyond the minimum curriculum?
(4) How do teachers learn about and follow-up on children's interests and talents?
(5) Is there a teacher expectation that they should be enhancing individual interests and talents? How is this accomplished?

The answers to these questions will present a picture of whether a given school recognizes and plans for individual differences *and of that school's commitment to individual development*. At the low end of the curriculum are schools which organize themselves to combat individual differences. They schedule equal times, for similar activities, using the same materials, for all children to learn equal amounts, of the same things, at equal rates. Such schools operationally define any student who does not comply to these norms as some sort of problem. At the high end of the spectrum are schools which recognize that the curriculum and minimum standards are only a starting point and that children naturally differ. The essential distinction between such schools is that those on the low end of Level I learnings regard individual differences as the enemy of their school organization. Educators in poor schools assume children go to school to become more alike as a result of being treated alike. They assume that fair and equal treatment is *the same treatment*. Schools at the high end of Level I learnings accept the challenge of searching out and developing individual differences. The educators who work in such schools seek not only to recognize but enhance individual interests and abilities. In effect, good teachers purposely make their jobs more difficult by teaching individuals as well as classes.

Level II learnings are those that refer to knowledge, skills, behavior, and values related to cultural diversity. For our purposes, it is vital that children learn about and accept their own heritage. But it cannot be stated with sufficient emphasis that the primary instruction in this area occurs in the family, home, religious, and ethnic community. The role of the school is to become aware, accept, and enhance these learnings which began in infancy. Further, it must be noted that children not only need to learn about their own backgrounds but about the backgrounds of other children in the schools across America. In addition, all children must learn something about the cultural heritage of the major groups who have been involuntary immigrants and who have needed legislation directed at their achievement of equity. These groups include African-Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, and some Asian groups. Some multicultural experts would add women and those with handicapping conditions to this list.

The point is that cultural diversity means learning about one's own group but much more as well. For example, any single culture group can have its children's well-being and education greatly enhanced by Level II learnings. What the children learn includes how their own culture group contributes to and is part of the total society, as well as specific things about their group. However, this is merely the starting, not the ending, point. Level II learnings also include learning about the range of culture groups—particularly the largest ones and those in need of greatest advocacy for equitable treatment and opportunity. Assessing such learnings will involve what is in the books, what is taught, what is learned, and what is tested for.

Level III learnings refer to all the typical areas usually covered in school curricula. Table II summarizes these. Level III learnings are, in our society, the expected outcomes of a good public school system. Unfortunately, too many Americans confine all their educational expectations to only this level. Worse yet, they limit their expectations to only the first goal (i.e., basic skills) as important for all children and youth.

Table II.
School Goals Most Commonly Stated by Local Boards of Education and State Departments of Public Instruction

1. Basic skills and information
2. Fundamental principles and concepts of required knowledge
3. Problem-solving abilities
4. Skills of group living and principles of citizenship
5. Health, personal and environmental
6. Aesthetic development
7. Personal values and ethics
8. Positive self-concept
9. Independent judgment and critical thinking
10. Ability to interact with all individuals and groups in positive, nonviolent ways.

The unwillingness to accept all three levels of learning as critical for all Americans is not confined to those who become fixated with a portion of Level III learnings. Level II zealots include a range of groups (e.g., orthodox religious sects) who want no interaction whatever with the larger society and who seek to live in entirely separate communities. Level I in the extreme, is characterized by individuals who seek "to find themselves" (and only themselves) without respect to other subgroups or to the larger society. For example, it became common in the 1960s for some Level I extremists to defend anything that any individual chose to do as worthwhile learning. As experimenting with drugs became commonplace, it was defended and even put forward as a personal form of enhancement and in some cases, as the value of a religious culture group. Cases defending the smoking of dope as a religious experience went as high as the Supreme Court. The "curriculum of the streets" was the euphemism used to glorify any activity which supposedly enhanced the particular individual or subgroup's potential for any form of activity—legal or otherwise. This was in contrast to former times when kinship systems, language, religion, and the values of a particular culture group were put forward as the most desirable and necessary forms of Level I and Level II learnings.

Learning can be assessed by more than the degree to which the school curriculum includes various content. In reality, there are four levels of curriculum: 1) what is in the official guides, texts, software, and other printed material; 2) what the teachers actually teach; 3) what the children really learn; and 4) what is assessed. The effectiveness of the curriculum should be assessed at all four levels. The greater the overlap in the four levels, the more the curriculum is aligned.

Rationale for the Three Levels of Learning

Erik Erickson (1964) has described the educational needs of individuals as preparation for a life of change, chance, and choice. His focus on the future and on individual health led him to postulate the increasing amounts of disorder which individuals should be prepared to cope with in the future. In effect, he predicted the decreasing ability of the larger society to provide the order which afforded greater stability and security to the individual in former times.

Robert Ardrey (1970) translated psychoanalytic studies and specified the three basic needs of groups and individuals as survival, power, and identity. These he claimed, follow an order so that once survival and some measure of mastery over the environment has been achieved, the group and the individual will do almost anything to meet what appears to be an inexplicable desire for adventure. In reality, this mysterious search for adventure is not a whim but an inherent need for identity, so potent, that the group and the individual will risk its very survival and the power it has already achieved to satisfy it.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1970) holds that physical safety is basic and that self-actualization is not realized until there has been sequential growth through preceding stages of development (i.e., belongingness, love, and esteem). While Maslow's theory does not account for the widespread and recurrent "deviants"— both individuals and groups—whose activities and priorities cannot be accounted for by any linear explanation of their supposed needs, it does explain and predict the sequence of most individual and group behavior that is driven by need satisfaction. Self-actualiza-

tion can only occur after basic needs and security needs are met.

Regardless of the particular theorist or theoretic orientation, the question of how individual needs interface with societal demands characterizes every serious attempt to explain human behavior. I believe this interface is a result of the fundamental need for the three levels of learning just described. My argument also includes a moral orientation regarding what individuals and groups need to learn to live together peacefully in a culturally pluralist American society. Individuals and groups are naturally predisposed to learn the things that will give them identity, security, and power. (See Table I presented earlier.)

What Constitutes Educational Health?

A basic understanding derived from anthropology is the concept that individuals can and naturally do operate on several levels simultaneously. It is naive to try to wash out the contradictions among Level I, Level II, and Level III learnings on the supposition that smoothing over conflicting cultural demands or making them all congruent is healthy or necessary. The healthiest goal is quite the contrary: to recognize that there may be some irreconcilable distinctions among the learning goals on three levels. What is best for individuals, subgroups, or the larger society need not always be congruent values. Indeed, it should be anticipated that there will be not only differences but contradictions. And this is true *within* each level as well as *between* levels. Within the larger society, we learn to cope with contradictory American values patterns (e.g. freedom and order, individuality and the common good). We also cope on a personal level: a mother teaches her three-year-old child to keep her clothes on,. then takes her to the beach and removes them. Between culture groups and the larger society, there are often conflicting demands—for example, the role of women.

Children and parents should be viewed as expert consumers, not designers of Level III learnings, because they are not experts in the production and offering of education programs. They are, however, experts in the consumption and effects of education. We all know whether our children have learned well, if not immediately then through their subsequent achievement in higher grades, college, jobs, or life. More affluent subgroups can choose the schools (Level III systems) that will successfully socialize their children into the larger society. They can use parochial as well as private schools and may even move their homes to preferred school districts. The poor, the undereducated, the ghettoized have no choice over schools and other Level III educational systems and are, in effect, totally dependent on the public organizations which service their immediate communities.

Obviously, individuals have mutual and simultaneous relationships with their subgroups and with the larger society; in return for the order these groups provide, the individual serves the specialized function of enhancing both his or her culture group and the larger society. In meeting the full range of educational needs, however, there is a wide range of individual learning and growth that does not appear to make any direct, clear, or immediate contribution to the social order. Such individually enhancing learning activities have been designated here as Level I learnings and are most possible in a free society, dedicated to the protection of individual liberties. But even more important is the converse; a society dedicated to the protection of individual liberties is most likely to survive and thrive. It is frequently the "impractical" developments which are the source of energy, growth, new ideas, and the adventure drive from which the larger society and subgroups derive their viability. The best indicator of this condition is the range and diversity of individual pursuits and learnings in a given subgroup. This can be assessed through inventories of activities; studies of how leisure, avocational, and personal interests are pursued; or through an examination of products. Setting a norm, or desirable level of learning is more difficult in this realm than in the others. Ideally, there can never be enough diversity. Practically, there must be some minimal amount. In a free and viable society there must be a range of activities which subgroup members are learning and which may not be directly tied to any immediately useful purpose perceived by the subgroup or larger society. The activities pursued by individuals should transcend age, gender, and income within the subgroup so that they do not deny freedoms and opportunities guaranteed by the larger

society. For example, a woman has the right and should have the opportunity to become a pilot, even if her particular culture group doesn't approve of this activity.

While this model seeks to clarify the concept of education in a multicultural society, there are peculiarities in American society worth noting. The most publicized well-documented educational failures are in Level III; that is, the school learnings intended to prepare all youth for successful participation and work in American society. The argument put forward here suggests that failures in the other two levels, while less frequently noted, are equally as serious. In Level I, there may be significantly less individual development than is necessary to sustain a free society. In Level II, there are tens of millions of "melted" Americans who no longer have identifiable ethnic subgroup connections. Such individuals create surrogates which serve the same purpose of providing them security and connectedness. Americans have been remarkably inventive at creating causes to which some people will devote literally much of their lives and energies. It has been said that no one ever started a religion or initiated a cause that failed in America. In the absence of active ethnic groups, many "melted" or assimilated Americans have been quite creative at developing surrogates: the Republican Party, a church group, the women's movement, the yacht club, the American Soccer League, and Weight Watchers are merely a few. While these surrogates may lack the power of ethnic subgroups to provide security, roots, and connectedness, they do serve as effective means of meeting the security needs of many in much the same way as prosthetic devices substitute for real limbs.

This model outlines three levels of learning as necessary for fully functioning in American society. As a result, the number of constituencies that the model defines as educationally disadvantaged is increased. Individuals who do not fully develop their distinctive talents (Level I learnings) are not only personally underdeveloped but are unable to contribute all they might to the general society. Those who do not learn to participate fully in their own culture groups and appreciate others (Level II) are similarly underdeveloped and educationally disadvantaged. Finally, those who might appear to be doing well in Level III learning (i.e., those who score average or better on school achievement tests) may actually be unprepared to function in American society. Effectiveness in the larger society depends on much more than having attained minimal skill levels in a few basics. It requires learning what schools claim to teach but do not measure: the ability to communicate, cooperate, problem solve, demonstrate moral character, practice sound health habits, and function as an active, law-abiding citizen. It cannot be stated with sufficient emphasis that the most critical learnings relate to learning how to live with individuals and subgroups in nonviolent, positive ways. This must be the centerpiece of all curriculum to counteract the epidemic currently ravaging our society. (See Table II.)

One implication of this model is that as poor as schools are—given present forms of evaluation—they would be assessed as significantly more deficient if we held an adequate view of the total learnings required for functioning on the three levels of living. Another implication is that there are many more melted (i.e., fully assimilated) Americans who are disadvantaged in Level II learnings than there are school children typically labeled disadvantaged because they have inadequate Level III learnings.

This model sets a very high educational standard for being judged an adequately educated American. By thus broadening the range and depth of what all Americans need to learn to function effectively in our multicultural society, we might all become more realistic about the challenge of educating a free people.

What Does All This Mean for the School in Columbus, New Mexico?

It is likely that one brief tape will not portray all the important things that are taught and learned in this school. The tape does indicate that some aspects of Level II learnings and some aspects of level III learnings are agreed upon by the aides, teachers, principal, and parents and are being taught.

On Level II, it seems clear that the children's cultural identity as Mexican-Americans is being carefully nurtured. The staff and administrator seem to be not only aware but somewhat successful

in helping these children accept themselves and take pride in their cultural heritage. The security the children can gain from this type of program will help build their self-esteem. In short, I believe what the staff is reporting. They seem to be in general agreement on making certain that the children feel secure in answering the question "Where do I come from?" and are comfortable with the realization they are Mexican-Americans. From the tape, it seems clear that all levels of staff share in and contribute to this goal. For the children who come across the border, this emphasis should also provide them with comfort, support, and the security that they are worthwhile people.

On Level III, there was very little depicted on the tape. For example, a brief language lesson showed 10 words on the blackboard being learned in both English and Spanish. There is little that can be said of an evaluative nature regarding this activity. We would have to have other tapes of all the things teachers and aides do in the course of a day to teach basic skills. On the basis of the tape, we can state that some basic skills are being taught to the children using direct instruction to the whole class.

In sum, I regard this brief tape as being a very small representation of what probably takes place in this school. Based on this snapshot of the school and the staff's explanations, it seems there is a strong commitment to some Level II learnings and some Level III learning of basic skills. The remarks which follow therefore assume there are many other tapes which might be made about this school.

What Should We Want the Children Attending School in Columbus, New Mexico to Learn in School?

Because I can't know from the tape the totality of what is actually being taught and learned in this school, it seems to me that it would be useful to lay out what we should want these children to learn. These are my advocacies and should not be interpreted to mean that these things are now being taught well, poorly, or at all. Finally, it must be noted that my analysis refers to the children who are being educated to function in American society and not to those children who will spend their lives outside the United States. I don't pretend to be an expert on what Mexican children and youth need to learn to function successfully in Mexico.

It should be the goal of this school, as well as the goal of any American public school, to prepare children for living, working, and functioning successfully anywhere in the country.

It should be the goal of this school, as well as the goal of any American public school, to prepare children for living, working, and functioning successfully anywhere in the country. Some would argue that this goal should be expanded to include anywhere in the world. I can't deal with an international goal on this level because most of the countries in the world are either totalitarian states or do not have our system of justice. Teaching people to live and work in Haiti, Iran, China, or even Malaysia would be a course in how to keep one's mouth shut, not write anything controversial, and be of the right religion, gender, or political persuasion. Admittedly, I have a more limited goal: that is, educating a free people to function in American society. As adults, the students may well decide upon other societies in which to also live and work. Fortunately, American society is sufficiently heterogeneous that preparing our children to function effectively at home will, in effect, teach them to interact positively with almost all races, religions, and ethnic and language groups.

What this goal means in practice is far reaching. It means that a farm child in a small Wisconsin town cannot be educated to learn with and from only white Lutherans whose grandparents speak German on the assumption that this child will spend his or her entire life in that small community and interact with the total American society only via the 6 o'clock evening news. The fact that the parents of these children may reject urban life

as centers of crime, violence, and degeneration and that they want some sort of fence built around their children cannot distort or control the school's mission. In other towns across America, some parents censor library books and others seek to control the science curriculum so that it will support their particular religious persuasion. To counteract these ever-present trends toward parochialism, education was officially designated the function of states, not localities. Theoretically, no local school board and no parent group has the authority to reject the heterogeneous American society (Level III) and to educate its children only in its own narrow image of Level II. This right to parochialism is reserved for private education. Public schools are for the making of all Americans.

The first question then is: Are the children in Columbus being educated to function everywhere in American society, or, is it assumed they will work, live, and function only in Columbus or a similar community for their entire lives? If the answer is the latter, then the school will have to explain how it can guarantee that its graduates will not someday move to a suburb of Philadelphia, a small Vermont community, a downtown neighborhood of Denver, or Honolulu. If the former, then what is the school doing to teach children about these other culture groups (Level II learnings) as well as how they can earn a living, spend their time, and function as citizens (Level III).

The parents of the children in that small Wisconsin town may not want their children to learn about Mexican culture, other than those are the people who come north in summer to pick our cucumbers and it costs us a lot of extra money for new toilets and running water in their shacks because they made the state of Wisconsin pass all those dumb health laws. These same parents also may not want their children studying too much about other culture groups in school—particularly Native Americans who can fish whenever they want to and ruin it for the rest of us. This list of parental desires can be extended ad infinitum. What it adds up to is that many parent groups work continuously at creating local school systems which would limit their children to their own low levels of education and understanding. The demographic data indicate, however, that most small-town and suburban children actually do move and spend their adult lives in California, in major metropolitan areas, and in the southeastern part of the United States living with other people's children. Therefore, to state that we in a particular school do whatever the parents want, and we do nothing to upset parents may be extremely dangerous to the well-being of both the children and to American society. Those Wisconsin parents in that particular small town want their children to remain on the farm or in nearby rural communities; they want the school to mirror their values and religion; they are most comfortable with schools that resemble their own schooling and not programs that seek to prepare their children for life in the 21st century. The schools, on the other hand, have a responsibility to teach the children to learn things on all three levels.

Perhaps a young girl may not only be interested but talented in science (Level I). Will she be precluded from this learning because her parents see her only as a milk maid, or a baby sister, or a mother? Should the parents' rejection of non-Christians preclude the school from teaching about all the culture groups in our society (Level II)? Should the option and vision that the girl has the right to use her academic ability to become a rocket scientist (Level III) not be shared with the girl because her parents want her to remain in Wisconsin rather than "end up" in Texas? While it is important, indeed imperative, that schools and parents work cooperatively and well together, it is naive to assume that every parental wish is the school's command, or that particular parent groups have the same agenda as public schools. Schools must have sound educational reasons for their programs which transcend pandering to parents. "We do (or do not) offer this program because it makes parents happy" is an insufficient basis for curriculum. There will be numerous occasions when the goals of the school and those of the parents coincide. There will be other times, however, when the parents must be heard but not necessarily obeyed.

What I have said about the visions of those in a small Wisconsin town is true for the parents and community in Columbus. The fact that the parents would like and expect that their children will live out their lives locally does not mean it will happen. Indeed, it is possible that some of the children educated in Columbus will live among elderly Jews in Miami, or among Moslem shopkeepers in California, or among Portuguese-

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American fisherman in Providence, Rhode Island. It is also possible that some of the parents of some of the children do not necessarily appreciate their children developing interests which they themselves do not practice (e.g., philately), or associating with people they do not interact with (e.g., Hopi Indians), or pursing "strange" careers (e.g., designer of computer software). Indeed, it may even be possible that many of the parents would be extremely happy if their children learned basic English (at about sixth-grade level), had a steady job as a busboy at a nearby resort, raised a family, and lived nearby. Should this be the extent of the school's vision, or, must the school have higher horizons?

The foregoing remarks refer to the American Dream as defined by those who see it as merely getting a decent job and having a better life than the parents. But this is a dream that poor people all over the world share. It is not the American Dream. The specific and unique American Dream must include our political and religious freedoms, our system of justice, the liberty to pursue one's interests and lifestyle, and the responsibilities of citizenship incumbent on those who would govern themselves (e.g., pay taxes, hold office). With the help of political candidates who follow rather than lead and the simplifications of the media, the glory of the American Dream has been watered down to having a good job and owning a single family home in a nice neighborhood. Which American Dream are the principal, teachers, aides, and parents in Columbus, New Mexico, referring to?

It would be simplest to state what the children should learn in terms of our theoretic construct:

Level I

Girls as well as boys should be taught to explore the fullest possible range of their interests and talents. Traditionally, schools have limited this search to a few physical education, music, and art activities. A better model to follow is to use the full range of what adults in our society do in their free time. Here we find everything from astronomy to skating. The wider the range of options the school program can expose children to the more likely the school is to hit on some talent or interest of the individual. *No child should finish elementary school in America without having found at least one particular skill or interest that she or he feels competent at and excited about doing—independently, without supervision, just for the joy of it.*

Level II

Children must learn about their own culture group. They must also learn about Native Americans, African-Americans, and Hispanics because these are the largest groups comprising involuntary immigrants. This is of great importance since the opportunity and equity which these groups enjoy is a substantial part of our history and the critical current issues facing all levels of government. In addition, children in various localities should have the benefit of learning about the culture groups represented in the classes and schools they attend. These learnings provide both substantive knowledge about culture groups and the general sensitivities children will need in order to relate to members of any other group.

It is possible, given this scheme, that children will begin with learning about their own groups, then add learning about the major culture groups comprising the total society and then expand to learning about the specific backgrounds of their schoolmates, which may not be part of the other two areas of study.

For children to learn that there is only my culture group versus everyone else is dangerous and misleading. It would be like having the Columbus, new Mexico children graduate believing here are only Mexican-Americans like me and then everyone else in one lump called "Anglos." Every child by the time he or she finishes elementary school should have a real sense of his or her own culture group and the *heterogeneity* of the total society.

In addition to knowledge and information, Level II learnings should be a source of self-esteem because children not only learn to feel better about themselves but gain the ability to communicate with friends from other groups. Where possible, Level II learnings should include language development. The "language problem" with the children in Columbus is not that they speak Spanish but that they don't speak Spanish well enough. Different areas of the country should emphasize teaching a range of foreign languages to standard levels.

Level III learnings need to be broadened to include all the goals in Table II and not merely

basic skills. Critical thinking, communication, and the ability to work cooperatively are essential, both to future employment and to functioning as a citizen and community member.

A final note is in order. The three levels of learning may be discreet; for example, a harp-playing Greek-American who works as a lawyer. This individual has learned valuable things about her/himself, his/her culture and his/her profession. Another individual, however, may be one who loves music, plays the guitar, is a Mexican-American and is skilled enough to earn a living at it. In this case the learning levels are more integrated. In both cases, however, we would also expect all the additional forms of learnings cited in our previous discussion of these levels.

Summary Issues

Do the goals of the schools emphasize minimum standards and sameness or, is the school program an active proponent for enhancing individual differences and actualizing the full range of human potential, talent, and interest? Does the school focus on one culture group (us) and lump everyone else together (them), or, does the school educate the child to successfully interact with people from all culture groups in America society? Does the school program focus on the basic skills needed to get a job and to stay out of jail, or, does the school emphasize learning for the world of work, continuous career development, and the range of responsibilities performed by citizens in a free society? Is the goal of the school to prepare children who will be able to succeed in Columbus, New Mexico, to function successfully anywhere in America? Is the "American Dream" getting a better job and being able to secure the goods and services needed to make one's family comfortable, or, does the "American Dream" also include the liberty to pursue individual interests and the commitment to perform civic responsibilities?

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